THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

POLICY REVIEW

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Mar. • Apr. 1996

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By Rep. Sam Brownback

19 Great Ideas for Repairing Civic Life
Milton Friedman, Michael Medved, William Bratton, et al.

Teen Welfare Moms: No More Home Alone
James Q. Wilson

Charity and the Tax Debate
Marvin Olasky

The Diceman Cometh
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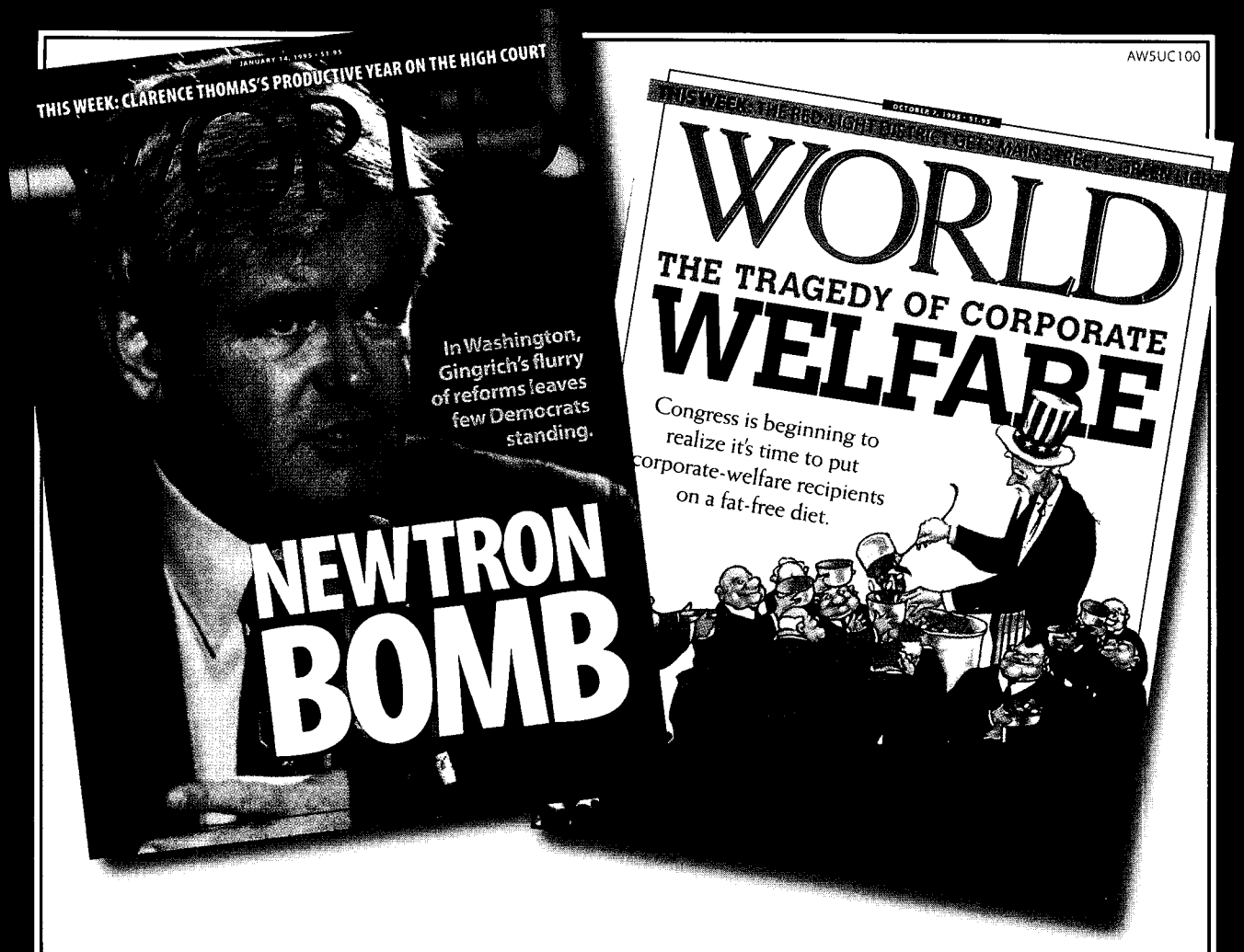
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The Heritage Foundation

Statement of Purpose

Our mission is to revive the spirit of American citizenship by recovering the core political principles of our Founding Fathers and by articulating and advancing the conservative vision of civil society.

Policy Review: The Journal of American Citizenship illuminates the families, communities, voluntary associations, churches and other religious organizations, business enterprises, public and private schools, and local governments that are solving problems more effectively than large, centralized, bureaucratic government. Our goal is to stimulate the citizenship movement—chronicling its success stories, exposing its obstacles and opportunities, and debating the policies that will best invigorate civil society.

American citizenship combines freedom with responsibility. These are the two great themes of modern conservatism, and they build on the best of the American tradition. Americans come from all races, all nationalities, all religions. Americans are united in citizenship not by common ancestry but by a common commitment to the political principles of the United States: the Constitution, the rule of law, the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Americans are united, too, by the common duties of citizenship: the obligation to protect our country from foreign enemies, to take care of our own families, to participate actively in civic life, to help our neighbors and communities when they are needy, and, in turn, not to take advantage of others' generosity when we can take care of ourselves.

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"The political party that best makes mediating structures the North Star of a new bipartisan agenda will dominate practical politics for the next fifty years."

—Michael Novak, from the introduction to the 20th-anniversary edition of *To Empower People*, by Peter Berger and Richard John Neuhaus

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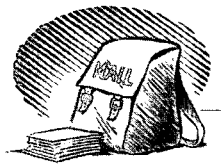

Correspondence

Citizenship AmeriCorps Style

To the Editor:

Contrary to John Walters ("Clinton's AmeriCorps Values," Jan.-Feb. 1996), AmeriCorps is a successful program that reinvigorates the principle of citizenship. Consider AmeriCorps's work with Birmingham AIDS Outreach (BAO) in Birmingham, Alabama.

Birmingham has been hit disproportionately hard by the AIDS epidemic, particularly the black heterosexual community. Sufferers have gone without care and have been forced to go to emergency rooms—at the expense of the state—for care that can easily be provided at home.

A proposal written by community organizations called for a team of individuals to provide in-home respite care for end-stage AIDS patients. Volunteers were needed to fill eight- to 10-hour shifts around the clock. The need overwhelmed an already substantial volunteer base, but volunteers from AmeriCorps answered the call.

The BAO/AmeriCorps program paid a living allowance to its volunteers for the same reason that elected officials are paid: They were providing a public service to our country. In doing so, volunteers incurred an opportunity cost that would have otherwise precluded them from volunteering. For example, several BAO participants were mothers who had worked their way off welfare and were trying to finance a college education.

The proposal was not written by bureaucrats but by a coalition of clergymen, citizens, nonprofit organizations, medical professionals, and businessmen. The local coalition designed its own policies and mechanisms concerning implementation and care delivery.

The BAO program will save state and the federal government close to $2 million over its initial investment by allowing patients to die at home rather than in a hospital at the expense of Medicaid. It is a clear example of the AmeriCorps mission: to build partnerships between public and private agencies in order to rebuild America.

It is a shame that Walters misunderstands the intentions behind the AmeriCorps program and the citizenship it embraces. While it would be nice if people could always solve their own problems, let's step off the ideological pedestal for a moment to realize that not everyone can. Citizens should be able to take care of one another in times of need. Feeding, bathing, and befriending a person dying of AIDS is neither a meaningless task nor a job deserving of only a meager living allowance, yet it has to be done. AmeriCorps makes it possible for people, welfare recipient and business executive alike, to do it—to embrace true citizenship.

Kyle E. Kimball
Cambridge, Mass.

John Walters responds:

Kimball assumes that just because AmeriCorps volunteers are doing good things that the program merits federal funding. A program that spends $500 million a year should produce results. But it is the unintended consequences of such programs that are often more significant—witness the waste in the Medicaid program Kimball is proud to have corrected through his AmeriCorps program.

Good deeds would not disappear if federal funding for AmeriCorps were eliminated. What civic leaders may have accomplished with federal dollars in Birmingham, countless private, religious, and charitable groups throughout America are achieving without federal assistance. One lesson from Birmingham is clear: AmeriCorps has taught people at the grass roots to look to Washington—not their local communities—for assistance.

Common-Sense Criminology

To the Editor:

As a former public defender, I agree whole-heartedly with John J. DiIulio's argument in "Arresting Ideas" (Fall 1995). If a criminal thinks he will be caught committing a crime, he will be less likely to commit that crime.

This law-breaking mentality lies within every reader. Do you accelerate when you are driving over the speed limit and spot a patrol car? If you don't, is it because you've just realized speeding is illegal or because you fear being caught?

With the exception of psychopaths and the slow-witted, most people, including criminals, will not break the law if they think they will be caught. Criminals rely in part on sights and sounds when calculating the likelihood of their capture. A thug doesn't mug a person inside a police station, next to a patrol car, or when he hears a siren, even if it may be an ambulance.

In addition, criminals weigh the benefits of committing a crime against the costs they will incur if caught. A criminal is more likely to pass a forged check for $50 than commit armed robbery in a homeless shelter. As the length of a criminal's potential incarceration increases, a criminal is less likely to commit a crime.

Dan Coburn
Hamilton College
Clinton, N.Y.

Incorporation Intended

To the Editor:

I read with great dismay Rep. Bob Dornan's view of the Constitution ("Preserve, Protect, Defend," Jan.–Feb. 1996). Dornan articulates three constitutional fallacies which must be addressed.

First, Dornan's essay is entitled "Government by Judiciary." This title aptly describes Dornan's incorrect view that judicial action that protects the precious liberties and fundamental rights of American citizens is merely an intrusion upon the "rights" of politicians. But in reality it is the *job* of the judiciary to stand astride the political branches, and majorities in general, to ensure that their actions are consistent with the basic constitutional guarantees granted to each individual citizen. In the end, Dornan's diatribe merely inflames the base bigotry directed towards those citizens who have been forced to seek judicial protection for their most basic rights: women, racial minorities, religious dissenters, and homosexuals.

Second, Dornan asserts that the loss of federalism is the price America has paid for the end of slavery. This view presumes that federalism is incompatible with a structure of substantive constitutional restraint upon each level of government. Dornan ap-

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parently believes that the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments repealed federalism. On the contrary, they perfected the American experiment by establishing the protection of individual rights as the primary responsibility of each level of government found in the federalist system.

Third, Dornan concludes that the principle of incorporation should be repealed. What would this mean in practice? Well, consider that the Supreme Court has concluded that the Fourteenth Amendment incorporates the protections of the First, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, and Eighth Amendments "against" the states. In practice, therefore, each state must respect such basic principles as free speech, freedom of religion, freedom of association, the right to petition the government for a redress of grievances, and the prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment.

In Dornan's constitutional universe, however, states and localities would be free to infringe upon religious liberty, free speech, or any other rights protected by the principle of incorporation. That most states and localities would not choose to infringe upon these rights is immaterial; the mere fact that these political entities would be *capable* of doing so is tantamount to concluding that Americans would be slaves to their government.

Contrary to sentiments expressed by the mythmakers who oppose judicial protection for individual rights, the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment *intended* the principle of incorporation to be expounded, and enforced, by the Supreme Court. Senator Howard, a Framer, declares that the Fourteenth Amendment's protections encompass "the personal rights guaranteed and secured by the first eight amendments of the Constitution" and that "the great objective" of the Fourteenth Amendment was to "compel [the states] at all times to respect these great fundamental guarantees."

In direct contrast to the false contentions of absolute-majoritarian state interventionists, Howard forcefully asserts that these protections "are secured to the citizen solely as a citizen of the United States and *as a party in their courts.*" It is clear that the misguided advocates of absolute "judicial restraint" in areas of fundamental rights and liberties have blamed the messenger (judges) for the message (constitutional protection of individual rights).

Joe Mitchell
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Blacksburg, Va.

Stigma, Not Spirit

To the Editor:

In his "Welcome" to the new *Policy Review* (Jan.-Feb. 1996), Adam Meyerson says, "The root cause of crime is spiritual, a hardening of the heart that makes a man or woman indifferent to the rights of others." Maybe.

When children have little or no parental guidance it does not take a genius to expect trouble. When a delinquent is not reprehended, publicly rebuked, humiliated, recidivism can be expected.

The root cause of crime is the lack of stigma attached to it. Spirituality is not needed to lead a moral life.

You want your new format to build a bridge to liberals whose policies have failed. This is like trying to run a business by committee. If conservatives have the guts and wisdom to find new approaches to adult and juvenile crime, let them stand up and be counted. Nothing works better than success.

James L. Robson
LaBelle, Fla.

Kind Words

To the Editor:

Bravo for adopting a "historic new mission: to restore the tradition of American citizenship" in the newly designed *Policy Review* ("Welcome," Jan.-Feb.). We are at a crossroads, or maybe close to a point of no return, having lost our sense of citizenship and our understanding of rights and responsibilities. Historians will look at the past 30 years and wonder how a nation founded on the principles of Washington and Jefferson—how "one nation, under God"—could have become so depraved.

Current films based on the writings of Jane Austen remind us how far we have come from common sense and decency. It is wonderful to see these films well-attended and observe young people who seem to wonder how we have strayed so far.

The time is ripe. Thank you for supporting the American family with educational material and examples of people taking positive steps to make a difference for all of us. Our children are searching for role models, and you can provide them.

Joseph B. Famme
Arlington, Va.

To the Editor:

I am writing to compliment you on the Jan.–Feb. issue of *Policy Review: The Journal of American Citizenship.* I particularly enjoyed your presidential symposium ("Preserve, Protect & Defend"). For the last 50 years, too many people have come to believe that the president's responsibility to the Constitution consists of appointing conscientious judges to the bench. That is only one part of the executive's responsibility. The president should also use the bully pulpit to fight for his constitutional vision, veto unconstitutional bills, and refuse to enforce unconstitutional legislation that is already on the books. That is what the oath of office is all about!

Timothy Lynch
Cato Institute
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor:

I have been a reader of *Policy Review* for more than a year. I recently received the Jan.–Feb. 1996 issue and enjoy the new format and content.

Its "Statement of Purpose" and "Letter to Our Readers" excite me and give me hope. We all know that our government, in its desire to help, has grown to hurt—that "we the people" need to do it better through the wonderful liberties of our Constitution.

This publication is needed. I look forward to the wealth of information future issues will surely contain.

Michael A. McKinley
Aurora, Colo.

Letters to the Editor

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We the People

AMERICA'S SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURS

Charities on the Dole

Those who expect America's charities to replace government as a provider of social welfare ought to look a little closer. They will find that the so-called independent sector, which receives between one-quarter and one-third of its funds from taxpayers, isn't so independent after all.

In fact, many social-service agencies actually receive most of their funding from government. Save the Children owes 60 percent of its budget to the generosity of taxpayers, Catholic Charities 65 percent, CARE 78 percent, and the United Cerebral Palsy Association more than 80 percent. Topping this list is the inaptly named Volunteers of America, which receives 96 percent of its $51-million budget from government sources.

The federal government now channels $39 billion a year in grant money through nonprofits. New York's social-service economy employs more people than Wall Street. Private social-service agencies actually represent the city government's largest group of vendors.

The government–nonprofit complex doesn't just consume taxpayer money. It uses that money to lobby for government programs that would consume even more taxpayer dollars. Congressmen Ernest Istook and David McIntosh have drawn widespread attention to this problem through their efforts to limit federal financing for nonprofits that engage in political advocacy.

We now know that the American Association of Retired Persons, which must share some of the blame for our teetering Social Security system, received $74 million in government funds in 1994. The Environmental Defense Fund, an advocate of stringent business regulation, got $500,000 in government support. The National Council of Senior Citizens, which received $71 million courtesy of taxpayers, recently spent much of its energy lobbying Congress on behalf of President Clinton's health-care proposals.

Tax-funded nonprofits also compete with the very profitmaking businesses whose taxes support them. In Pennsylvania, a nonprofit hospital that receives government funds operates a marina. In New York, government-funded housing competes with private development, and homeless shelters crowd out cheap single-room-occupancy residences. In our nation's capital, George Washington University, a nonprofit institution that receives public funds, operates a hotel and a restaurant.

Nonprofits that compete with businesses to provide of goods and services take advantage of tax exemption in many ways. In 1993, the Children's Television Workshop received $22.5 million in tax-free royalties from the sale of Sesame Street products. A Sesame Street store just opened in an Indianapolis mall; one can only wonder how the owners of the toy shop a few doors away feel about losing business to a store that generates tax-free revenues.

The independent sector's natural affinities should lie with the business sector. After all, its vitality depends on the wealth business creates. But as more and more support for nonprofits is channeled through government, the independent sector's allegiances have shifted to Capitol Hill and the federal bureaucracy. It is not just that these institutions think their well-being (and hence society's) depends on a generous government. They also view for-profit ventures as second-rate, morally inferior, and perhaps even evil. They'd rather see people eat in a soup kitchen than in a diner, live in a "habitat for humanity" than in a trailer park.

There are, of course, many small, innovative, and values-driven grass-roots charities that are addressing human needs much more efficiently than failed federal programs and social-service agencies. These groups mostly avoid government money, because they know that government support comes with strings attached.

These strings involve more than just paperwork and regulations. Government support also changes charities' incentives, giving them reasons to keep caseloads up instead of getting them down by successfully turning around peoples' lives. It distorts their missions. It turns lean, cost-effective organizations into bloated bureaucracies, and dilutes their spiritual or religious message. In instances where the Salvation Army decided to accept government funds (which constitute about 15 percent of its revenues), it stopped requiring church attendance as a condition of its assistance. Unfortunately, this experience is all too common. The charity that stays genuinely independent from government is still the exception.

Nonprofit social-service agencies are far too dependent on government funding to lead the way out of welfare.

Although charities are supposed to offer an alternative to government provision of social welfare, they have become so dependent upon and aligned with government that they no longer represent a way out of the welfare state. If we place our faith in private nonprofits as they are currently organized, we are in for a big disappointment. Before we can rely on charities to help us dismantle government, they must wean themselves off the dole.

by Kimberly Dennis

Kimberly Dennis is the executive director of the Philanthropy Roundtable, a national association of more than 400 donors and grantmakers that seeks to help its members achieve their charitable objectives. Address: 320 North Meridian St., #908, Indianapolis, Ind. 46204-1725. Tel: 317-639-6546, fax: 317-236-7370.

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Taking the Byte Out of Disability

by John Hood

John Hood, a 1994-95 Bradley Fellow at The Heritage Foundation, is president of the John Locke Foundation, in Raleigh, North Carolina. His book, The Heroic Enterprise: Business and the Common Good, *will be published in June by the Free Press.*

While cleaning up the hard disk on my computer recently, I came across an accessory that I had never noticed before called "Text to Speech." Intrigued, I opened it and discovered that my relatively low-end computer could convert standard text files into speech. It can read aloud whatever I wish, from a brief newspaper column to a massive document.

The voice sounds very much like the one you hear throughout *A Brief History of Time*, a movie based on the book by scientist Stephen Hawking. Struck down by a debilitating illness that robbed him of speech and most of his mobility, Hawking has nevertheless become the world's most celebrated physicist and cosmologist. His extraordinary accomplishments were made possible by technologies that allow him to operate a computer—and even, through it, to speak to movie audiences.

What's amazing to me is not that such technologies exist, but that they are so commonplace as to be installed in a run-of-the-mill personal computer like mine. In fact, inexpensive programs and devices have dramatically expanded the economic opportunities of disabled Americans, not only improving their own lives but allowing all of us to benefit from previously untapped talents and resources.

New technology from business helps the handicapped more than the Americans with Disabilities Act ever could.

Mark Beckwith of Greenville, Maine, is a quadriplegic. But he is also a draftsman for the Log Home Co., thanks to innovative products from a Massachusetts firm called Dragon Systems. For less than a thousand dollars, you can purchase DragonDictate and run sophisticated computer programs by voice. The system converts each word it hears into text by piecing together the word's components and then comparing the combination with acoustic models in its built-in vocabulary list. By speaking key commands such as "Shift-Alt-F4," the user can operate spreadsheets, word processors, and even the drafting programs that Beckwith uses to design house-building plans.

Other low-cost computer devices that aid disabled users include screen-magnification software ($200 to $600), Braille-output printers and translators ($2,100 to $4,000), and head-pointer or Morse-code systems that allow severely disabled people to issue computer commands ($500 to $1,400).

Toward the opposite end of the cost scale is another product that helps quadriplegics accomplish tasks, called EyeGaze. Developed by LC Technologies in Fairfax, Virginia, it allows users to turn on appliances, run machinery, type letters, and play video games with eye movements. The device uses beams of light to translate movements into computer commands. Even at a price of $25,000, EyeGaze offers many seriously disabled people opportunities they never thought they had.

The market for products to enable physically handicapped workers—ranging from speech synthesis and voice-input systems to robotics, deaf relays, Braille text displays, text telephones, monitoring devices, and environmental controls—includes such major players as IBM, AT&T, Xerox, Nynex, Digital Equipment, and Apple. Thought of more broadly, products ranging from pharmaceuticals to ergonomic office furniture are also part of this effort to empower the disabled. Prozac and other antidepressants have helped many workers keep their jobs and improve their performance. Pain relievers allow employees with arthritis and similar ailments to perform work without enduring excruciating pain. Redesigned desks, chairs, and other equipment have done the same for those with chronic back problems, who make up about 15 percent of all people considered "disabled."

Many observers who have taken notice of American businesses' interest in this market have attributed it to the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), enacted in 1990 and fully implemented in 1994. The ADA, among other things, requires businesses with 15 or more employees to give "equal access" to all disabled workers and consumers. Portrayed as a civil-rights measure no less important than the 1960s legislation against racial discrimination, the ADA may have attracted the attention of some firms that otherwise wouldn't have entered the market for disabled-enabling products. But its overall effect on the employability of the disabled is a great deal more complicated.

For one thing, the ADA has mainly affected not hiring but firing. In its first two years, about half of all ADA claims involved alleged wrongful discharges, while only 12 percent charged discrimination in hiring disabled workers. In one case, a senior executive with terminal brain cancer who had been fired was awarded $222,000 because his employer could not prove in court that he was unable to perform the essential functions of his job. In all too many cases, it appears, workers discharged for a variety of reasons have added the ADA to their other legal means of obtaining large severance payments.

Second, the targeted beneficiaries of the ADA include very few of the seri-

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ously disabled Americans that both proponents and opponents of the law tend to talk about. About half a million Americans are wheelchair bound, but almost 50 million Americans are considered "disabled" for the purposes of the ADA. They include those with relatively minor physical or mental infirmities. And they make up the vast majority of plaintiffs in ADA lawsuits alleging wrongful termination.

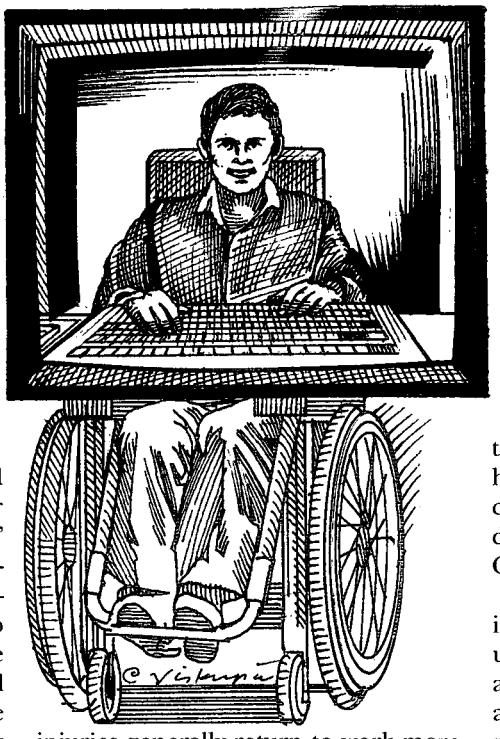
Third, the ADA may actually hinder rather than advance opportunities for disabled workers. It's harder to prove discrimination in hiring than wrongful termination—that's why lawsuits alleging the latter are so much more common. Rather than face the potential legal consequences of letting a disabled worker go, even for perfectly appropriate reasons, some employers may well want to limit their exposure to such suits by not hiring the disabled in the first place, accepting the risk of noncompliance on the hiring side in order to avoid the much greater risk of wrongful termination suits. And their caution may be vindicated by the rash of spurious ADA claims by people claiming to be disabled by obesity, kleptomania, sex addiction, severe body odor, and "multiple chemical sensitivity."

The fact is that efforts to expand opportunities for disabled people far predates the ADA. The term "disabled" is itself relative, meaningful only according to the tasks one wants to perform and the technology available to help one do so. We now have more people living with physical and mental infirmities than ever before. In the past, those born with birth defects often didn't make it past infancy. Injuries that today lead to loss of limbs or motor control used to be deadly.

On the other hand, the number of people who are functionally disabled, especially as it relates to employment, is surely lower. For most of human history, persons lacking nimble fingers or strong backs had little prospect of making a living. The advent of farm implements and simple devices such as looms increased the number of people who could perform work quickly and easily, thus increasing the standard-of-living for all. Similarly, until the invention of eyeglasses, an enormous number of human beings became virtually unemployable at an early age.

Thanks to modern machinery and appliances, many jobs no longer require great physical strength and endurance. Now, the Information Age promises to expand the boundaries of human potential even further, as the mind—not the body—becomes the most valuable asset a worker or entrepreneur can bring to the marketplace.

This is true even for the hardest cases. Researchers at Rutgers and Princeton universities have found that computers have significantly enhanced job opportunities and boosted earnings for many people with spinal-cord injuries. The researchers found that, all else held equal, people who have computer skills at the time of their injuries generally return to work more quickly than those without such skills. They also discovered that disabled workers with computer skills suffer no disparity in pay versus their counterparts without disabilities, while those without such skills do get paid less.



Modern computer technologies are mostly the product of competitive private markets, not government programs or regulations. By decisively shifting the source of economic value to ideas and away from physical exertion, computers and other information technologies have helped Americans with serious disabilities far more than has the ADA. Indeed, while the percentage of the disabled who are employed rose, especially among women, in the 20 years preceding the passage of the law, it has since leveled off. The National Organization on Disabilities studied the issue in 1986 and again in 1994, finding that the percentage of working disabled stayed roughly the same, given the margin of sampling error: 33 percent in 1986 versus 31 percent in 1994. Of course, there could be many explanations for this, but as Brian Doherty of *Reason* magazine concluded, "there is certainly no evidence, despite all the costs, that the ADA has helped" the disabled gain employment.

Private firms have incentives to develop, manufacture, and market products to empower disabled workers regardless of government regulation. There is already significant consumer demand for these items. The disabled want them to improve their own prospects and quality of life. And their potential employers have an incentive to create jobs for the most talented and hard-working individuals. Long before the advent of the ADA, companies such as Du Pont and Marriott discovered that efficiently accommodating the needs of disabled workers can boost performance and employee morale.

"Many employees with disabilities have really overcome many obstacles to being successfully employed and have shown lots of perseverance and creativity in showing how a job can be done," says Lana Smart of the National Center for Disability Services.

Indeed, there is an important qualitative difference between the way regulators approach workplace disability and the way private firms and individuals do. For regulators, the disabled represent a cost that must be imposed on unwilling businesses. In the private market for labor, however, finding ways to unleash the creative talents of the disabled can yield significant returns for firms, workers, and consumers. The disabled are viewed as potentially valuable assets, rather than potentially costly liabilities.

It may be true that some severely disabled individuals cannot be profitably employed today, because the costs of doing so exceed the value of the work they can do. But they used to think that about the nearsighted, the slender-bodied, and the club-footed. It must not be forgotten that people have always found ways to eliminate those barriers to employment, without the prodding of government regulators.

Illustration by Gary Viscupic

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A Cop Next Door

In 1991, the police department in Columbia, South Carolina, began offering low-interest mortgage loans to any officer willing to live in a high-crime or deteriorating neighborhood. One rundown house whose street address was 911 caught the attention of Officer James Brown.

"I told my wife, 'That house is meant for us,'" he says. Brown's wife and two young children weren't so sure. The one-story brick house needed repairs, and the neighborhood was suffering frequent burglaries.

The department offered the Browns a mortgage loan with a 4 percent interest rate and no money down. Their only out-of-pocket expense was $5 for a credit check. They bought the house for $70,000, including $28,000 in renovation costs, and have lived in it happily for more than four years.

"I dreamed of having my own home, but never thought it would happen," says Brown. "My neighbors say they see a big difference since my family and I moved in and I park my squad car out front. They tell me they sleep feeling safer, knowing I'm living here with them. I think the police homeowner program is great for me and the city."

Brown did not know it at the time, but by buying and moving his family into the "911 house," he became one of the first police officers in the nation to take part in a small but growing and successful element of community-policing programs across the nation.

"Police homeownership in high-risk neighborhoods is community-oriented policing at its very best," says Columbia police chief Charles Austin. "People in problem areas of our city used to complain that police aren't really sensitive to the problems of the community. 'Police don't live here,' they would say, 'so they don't really care what happens here.' Now they know that police officers live among them and *do* care."

Austin says the program is a major ingredient of his community-based policing plan. Overall crime rates have decreased 16 percent since 1991, and he attributes much of that drop to the new home loan program, which induced 11 officers to move into some of the city's high-crime neighborhoods.

"Like most other cities, the fight against crime and deteriorating homes leads the list of needs," says Richard J. Semon, Columbia's community-development director. He says that the program has also furthered the goal of revitalizing the city's housing and promoting homeownership.

The results have been overwhelmingly positive: The ongoing presence of police can help sustain or renew a sense of stability to a community. Suzanne House, a neighbor of one of the Columbia policemen in the program, agrees. "We had police at our community meetings, but it wasn't quite the same, if they didn't live here. With a police officer and his family living here and parking his squad car in front of his house, it's made a big difference. It makes us neighbors feel more safe."

"There used to be a crack house a block away," says Columbia resident Brooks Dickerson. "Since a policeman moved in here, it's gone. The neighborhood's much quieter now." The program is improving neighborhoods in part because it transforms the attitudes of police patrolling those neighborhoods. "I used to just work the neighborhood," says Officer Charles Rowson. "Now I give it 150 percent more, because my family and I live here. I no longer leave it after my shift and figure it's someone else's problem."

"It makes you a better police officer if you live in the area you patrol," says Corporal Randy Blackwell. "I rode my patrol car around the area for several years, but didn't live there. Since I own a home in the neighborhood and know the people who live here, I have a totally different opinion of it and them. The city of Columbia is no longer just a place where I go to work. It's where I live. You take a different interest in it, if you live where you work."

Officer James Brown and his family's "911 house."

Young police officers and their families like the loan program because the low-interest and no-money-down mortgages offer them a chance to own a home years earlier than they otherwise could afford. The home loans include generous rehabilitation funds for older, rundown homes. The buildings, once prime candidates for demolition, are remodeled into attractive like-new homes both inside and out, including brand-new kitchens and landscaping.

Photo courtesy of Columbia Police Department

by Walter Oleksy

Walter Oleksy is a freelance writer based in Evanston, Illinois, who frequently writes on community topics.

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It wasn't difficult to persuade Columbia bankers to support the effort. "Every bank we approached responded by saying yes," Semon says. "They agreed to provide 50 percent of financing below market rates, and each volunteered to do at least one loan."

Cancel that crack deal: Home-loan programs help police plant roots in troubled communities.

"Public-private partnerships do work," says Wayne Lovelace, a vice president of First Citizens Bank of Columbia. "We get a good loan, we address a social need, and a responsible buyer gets a house they couldn't otherwise afford. We're glad to be part of the program." As a result of the program, Columbia's police department has won a prestigious "Innovations in Policing" award from the U.S. Conference of Mayors, based in Washington, D.C.

Since Columbia began its program, other cities have begun similar projects. In Sarasota, Florida, a homeownership program aimed at stabilizing certain neighborhoods offers participants up to 100 percent of the financing of a low-interest loan with no down payment and a take-home police car. Chicago's city council last year approved a program to assist police officers who buy homes in low and moderate-income neighborhoods. Suburban Elgin, Illinois, has offered a similar program since 1992.

The Casino Reinvestment Development Authority in Atlantic City, New Jersey, has designed its own version of the concept, in cooperation with the police department and the Police Foundation, a research group in Washington, D.C. The program offers low-interest, 30-year, fixed-rate loans with no down-payments to police officers who move into designated neighborhoods and carry out certain community-oriented policing activities.

Dubbed the "3-2-1 Program," the financial incentives to officers depend on the crime rates of the neighborhood in which they choose to reside. In the more desirable Area 3, 3-percent mortgages are offered with a $300 application fee, three loan points, and no loan forgiveness. In Area 2, officers may receive 2-percent mortgages with a $200 application fee, two loan points, and one year of loan forgiveness for every two years of residency. In the high-crime Area 1, participants in the program can get 1-percent mortgages with a $100 application fee, one loan point, and a year's forgiveness for each year of residency. Every officer is assigned a patrol car, which he must park in front of his home when off duty.

Nineteen officers who chose to participate in the program confirm that it makes people in the community feel safer, deters crime, and involves officers more deeply in the community they have sworn to protect. New Jersey's legislature is now considering a statewide version of the program. "Cops and crime can't coexist in the same neighborhood," says James Kennedy, the executive director of the Casino Reinvestment Development Authority.

In many departments and cities, attempts to require officers to reside in the city they serve have become extremely contentious. Homeownership incentives may achieve a similar result without coercion. "When police officers are integrated into the fabric of the community," says Hubert Williams, the president of the Police Foundation, "they will get information that they could never get if they lived on the outer boundaries. And information is the life blood of a police department. The residency requirement is not very effective right now. We simply need another approach, and police homeownership in high-risk or deteriorating neighborhoods is proving to be a successful solution."

"Police should be part of a community," says Richard Semon, the director of Columbia's community-development department. "Police homeownership is not the entire solution, but it is one effort, one piece of the puzzle. We think it is a vital part of the solution of deterring crime and revitalizing our neighborhoods."

For more information about this program, contact Richard Semon, community development director, Community Services, City of Columbia, 1225 Laurel St., Columbia, S.C. 29217.

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In the Trenches of A City's War on Poverty

Shunning public funds, a Christian relief agency in San Jose deploys thousands of volunteers to rescue the poor.

For Marcia, release from a California prison was both a blessing and a curse: She suddenly had to figure out how to care for herself and her infant son. An abuser of heroin and cocaine for more than 20 years, she had few job skills or prospects. She had been on welfare, but balked at returning to that treadmill. And if she checked into a drug treatment program, she probably would be separated from her baby.

"I knew that I was going to begin using [drugs] again . . . and I knew that I didn't want to do that," says Marcia, who asked not to be fully identified. "I just was tired of it all."

Then she heard about House of Grace, a residential program in San Jose for abused, homeless, or addicted women. It is one of the few recovery programs in the county that allows mothers to stay with their children. As soon as Marcia and her son moved into the program's renovated apartment complex in December 1994, house director Denise Lutcher got actively involved in her life. Lutcher and her staff went to work assessing Marcia's physical, emotional, vocational, and spiritual needs.

For residents like Marcia, that list of needs is usually long. Women receive counseling, attend recovery classes, complete their education, and learn life skills such as managing a budget and caring for their children. But they must also follow a clear set of rules. They must wean themselves from welfare and other government aid within six months. They are permitted no televisions or telephones in their rooms. A resident who fails her weekly drug test just once faces immediate expulsion. And the women must attend Bible classes and chapel.

"The program helped me to get a hold of my life because of the tools they teach," says Marcia. Today, at 42, she is entering the final phases of her recovery program at the House of Grace. She has enrolled in a local college, where she is earning top grades in a program on computing and information systems. She holds a part-time job. Her son, now two, is flourishing in a community with other stable parents.

House of Grace typifies the strategy—and the success—of a community-based and religiously rooted approach to helping the urban poor. It is one of several programs set up by CityTeam Ministries, a private, nondenominational Christian agency working in the inner city of San Jose. Last year, CityTeam administered a budget of $7 million and a staff of nearly a hundred, and provided intensive, on-going help to more than 5,000 individuals and families—all without a dollar of public funds.

As noted in a recent Hudson Institute report, the agency has transformed itself to meet the changing social needs of San Jose. As the city grew from a small industrial town in the 1950s to a world technology capital, it drew thousands of poor Anglo, Vietnamese, and Latino families, out-of-work laborers, gangs, and crack addicts. Meanwhile, CityTeam evolved from a homeless shelter for white, middle-aged alcoholic men into a comprehensive program for homeless and drug-addicted women, children at risk, and entire families living in or on the edge of poverty. And it has done so by mobilizing an army of volunteers and donors, energizing a committed and innovative staff, and applying an intensive, holistic approach to solving problems.

Each of CityTeam's programs combines a philosophy of compassionate intervention mixed with strict accountability, an emphasis on long-term changes in destructive behavioral patterns, and a strong religious underpinning. The Bible is the main guide both to morality and to practical living.

While some state agencies were devoting a lot of time and money to providing the homeless with food and housing, CityTeam began to focus on drug and alcohol addiction—which it considers the root causes of most homelessness—and in 1983 established a residential recovery program. While most state-funded recovery programs last about 30 days, CityTeam staff believe more time is needed for permanent changes; participants remain in recovery programs for between 18 and 24 months. And while government-supported rehabilitation programs demand that staff members have degrees in social work, the rescue mission's house manager is himself a former crack addict and a graduate of the group's recovery and Christian training programs; he's now completing his master's degree.

Field workers realized that preventing addiction meant reaching children before they began using drugs. From this insight emerged a youth program that includes Camp May-Mac, a summer camp for at-risk inner-city children. Throughout the year, CityTeam keeps about a thousand kids busy with regular recreational activities, neighborhood clubs, tutoring, leadership development, and Bible studies.

But even here their approach is unconventional: The group's youth workers actually move into the troubled neighborhoods of east San Jose in order to build stable relationships with children at risk. CityTeam President

by Kim A. Lawton

Kim A. Lawton is a freelance writer living in Arlington, Va.

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Pat Robertson says kids know where the organization's workers live and know that they can reach those workers anytime, day or night. "[We] are not just commuting in and out," he says. "The problems of the community are our problems."

Whole families are helped through the agency's family-relief center, where counselors distinguish urgent and immediate needs from long-term, underlying issues. Volunteers distribute food, clothing, and furniture, provide rent assistance, assemble holiday food boxes and kits of school supplies, and teach English as a second-language to Spanish and Vietnamese residents. Volunteers also act as unofficial caseworkers, following up with client families.

Harry Brown, the vice president for administration, says CityTeam's extensive volunteer network enables the agency to provide a level of support and personal help that rivals publicly funded programs in the city. CityTeam volunteers—about 3,000 in any year—are involved in everything from babysitting to tutoring to prayer. Most volunteers are recruited through local churches or ads. While some volunteers work only once a year, others offer a regular commitment.

CityTeam applies the same targeted grass-roots approach to fundraising as it does to delivering social services. Most staff members spend up to eight hours a week fundraising, providing the agency with about 40,000 active donors—an impressive base for a local charity—with average contributions of less than $200. "It's Joe and Sally Smith at 50 bucks a month who sustain our organization," says Brown. "It's possible because there are a large number of stakeholders who believe in the goal and are willing to participate in the process."

According to a 1995 study by Independent Sector, an umbrella group for nongovernmental organizations, most private charities rely heavily on direct government subsidies. But Robertson says that because of CityTeam's strong religious emphasis, the ministry consistently refuses to accept any government aid, which imposes rules against proselytizing clients and discriminating among job applicants. At CityTeam, all staff members must share the agency's evangelical Christian beliefs; most programs require mandatory chapel attendance or Bible studies and encourage involvement in local churches. "We focus on what it means to be a disciple of Jesus Christ and how that influences life on a practical level," says Curt Floski, the director of the Rescue Mission and Recovery Program.

Staff members say the religious component, with its emphasis on personal transformation, is indispensable. An internal 1992 study seems to corroborate that: Of the men who had graduated from CityTeam's addiction-recovery program between 1986 and 1992, more than 60 percent were still "working and clean and sober." National experts have found that among low-income and low-education groups—the agency's principal client population—recovery success rates typically remain below 16 percent.

Can the CityTeam approach be duplicated in other urban areas? The group launched a branch outside Philadelphia in the mid-1980s, and it has earned high marks from community leaders. "They have done more to end human suffering in Chester [Pennsylvania] than any other organization I know of," says Jack Holefelder, the president of the Delaware County Chamber of Commerce.

In San Jose, CityTeam has established the International Center for Urban Training. Through seminars, instructional manuals, and work in agency projects, trainees learn about the group's holistic service philosophy. The staff also teach techniques for fundraising, volunteer recruitment, strategic planning, public affairs, and government relations.

Officials say they are committed to developing models of ministry that can be broadly replicated to help the poor. "One of the things you find is that needs out there are relatively common, and the solutions that apply to them also have relatively common applications," Brown says. "You have to have a set of core values [relevant] to the issues, and then you have to consistently implement those values." And the vital dynamic, Robertson says, is personal involvement and intervention: "Programs are best done at the local level when you can look people eyeball to eyeball."

The people who challenged Marcia to change made a crucial difference in her life. For the first time, she says, she learned that she possessed both abilities and responsibilities—and that it was time to offer them to her family and community. Now she spends her evenings teaching "life skills" seminars to other women living at the House of Grace.

Marcia learned it was possible to walk away from a life of addiction, and she has remained drug free. And most importantly, she says, she acquired a spiritual foundation for her life. "It's everything that I needed," she says, "things that I lacked for so long, or that I was too medicated to even realize were missing."

For more information, contact CityTeam Ministries, 2302 Zanlar Rd., San Jose, Calif. 95131-1137. Tel. 408-232-5600.

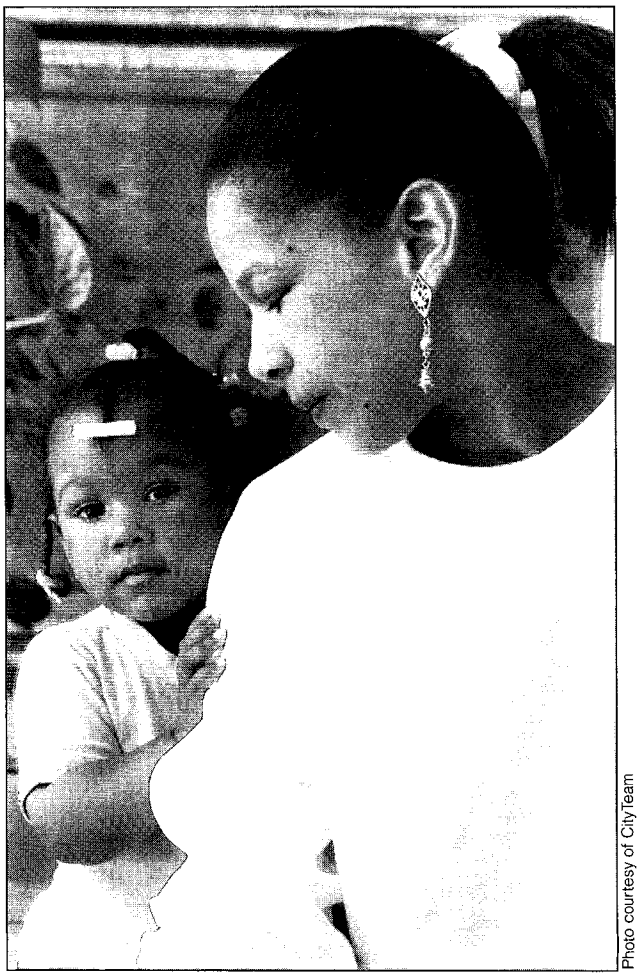

Photo courtesy of CityTeam

Unlike similar programs, CityTeam allows the single mothers it helps to remain with their kids.

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Marriage Menders

A report last year by the Council on Families in America characterized America's culture of divorce this way: "Relationships between men and women are not getting better; by many measures, they are getting worse. They are becoming more difficult, fragile, and unhappy. . . . The promises of the divorce revolution proved empty, its consequences devastating for both adults and children." Researchers predict that roughly half of existing marriages will break up, and nearly three out of five new unions will end in divorce or permanent separation. For many couples, such odds can make their sacred vows seem more like a crapshoot.

Along with the problem of illegitimacy, failed and failing marriages are at the root of the nation's worst social ills. But what can we do about it? Public policymakers need to reconsider the legal regime governing marriage and divorce, from reform of no-fault divorce laws to longer waiting periods for divorcing parents. In the next issue of *Policy Review*, we'll examine which states have the lowest divorce rates, where legislatures are trying to make divorce more difficult, and other efforts to reverse the proliferation of divorces.

Public policy, however, is only one part of any solution. Over the past 20 years, research has revealed or confirmed the elements of successful marriages. Many programs, support groups, and therapy techniques are now available to strengthen even the most troubled relationships. The religiously based Marriage Encounter and Family Life weekend retreats, for example, have renewed the faith and commitment of thousands of couples. In the pages that follow, we profile a few of the ideas for forming more perfect unions, in the hope that they take root in families, communities, and religious congregations around the country.

by Elizabeth Schoenfeld

Elizabeth Schoenfeld is a contributing editor of Policy Review: The Journal of American Citizenship.

Divorce Buster

In the 1960s, as divorce rates began to climb, many family counselors began to see divorce itself as a therapeutic option of first resort. Therapist Michele Weiner-Davis recalls a fellow counselor who claimed that 90 percent of the marriages in his practice were dead on arrival. Weiner-Davis herself used to believe that many marital problems were insurmountable.

No longer. "The vast majority of relationship problems *are* solvable and the vast majority of marriages *are* worth the effort required to make them work," she writes. "Now I do whatever I can to help people find solutions to their marital problems so that they can stay together."

Why the change? Weiner-Davis says she's seen up close the suffering and disillusionment that can come with divorce. And blaming one spouse as the source of the problems, she says, is a mistake, because "it doesn't take into account the roles both partners play in the deterioration of the relationship." Bad habits and behaviors developed over years go with them when they end the marriage.

Michele Weiner-Davis

"I don't believe in 'saving marriages,'" she says. "I believe in divorcing the old marriage and beginning a new one—with the same partner." With that creed in hand, Weiner-Davis pioneered the use of Solution-Oriented Brief Therapy (SBT) in marriage counseling. Unlike traditional therapy methods, which tend to focus on problems and on the past, SBT emphasizes solutions. For example, rather than encouraging couples to talk about childhood disappointments and how they may be affecting their relationship, SBT asks them to define what they want to accomplish in their reconciliation, and then to devise a strategy for meeting these goals.

In her own practice, Weiner-Davis has found that SBT can salvage at least four out of five seriously troubled marriages. She says that couples can begin to turn their relationships around within a month, even if only one spouse wants to save the marriage. She promotes SBT in her recent bestseller, *Divorce Busting: A Step-By-Step Approach to Making Your Marriage Loving Again* (Fireside).

For information about SBT therapists, send a self-addressed stamped envelope to Michele Weiner-Davis, P.O. Box 197, Woodstock, Ill. 60098. Tel.: 815-337-8000. Also available is a home-study course with six audio cassettes and a workbook called Keeping Love Alive.

The Language of Diplomacy

One of the most common reasons marriages break up is that husbands and wives don't know how to communicate or handle conflicts. The problem may be not what you fight about, but how you fight. The good news is that just about anyone—even the most emotionally inept—can learn skills in communication and conflict resolution. There are numerous seminars to prevent divorces and enhance marriages. Here are three that are especially well researched and effective. In each of them, participants follow the curriculum in small groups and then huddle with instructors for individual coaching.

PREP. "We have a Geneva Convention for the way we conduct warfare," says Howard Markman, the director of the Center for Marital and Family Studies and developer of the Prevention and Relationship Enhancement Program (PREP). "What we need is a sort of Geneva Convention for handling marital conflict." PREP supplies just that by imparting rules that couples can use to negotiate the

Photo courtesy of Simon & Schuster

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minefields of marriage, including calling "timeouts" when a conflict gets out of hand and taking turns listening to each other. The "how-to"s of conflict resolution are taught in a five-session workshop that offers plenty of practice and coaching. PREP recently won a four-year grant from the National Institute for Mental Health to train clergy in administering the program. The PREP approach can be previewed in a book called *Fighting for Your Marriage: Positive Steps for Preventing Divorce and Preserving a Lasting Love*, by Howard Markman, Scott Stanley, and Susan L. Blumberg (Jossey-Bass).

For information about counselors trained in the PREP approach, send a self-addressed stamped envelope to PREP, Inc./Referrals, 1780 S. Bellaire Street, Suite 621, Denver, Colo. 80222. Tel.: 303-750-8798.

Couple Communication. More than 500,000 couples have been helped by this program, which provides practical skills in four to six sessions. The program uses tools such as the "Listening Cycle," which helps spouses ascertain, for example, whether they are really listening to each other or just waiting for their turn to talk. Developed by Sherod Miller, Phyllis Miller, Daniel Wackman, and Elam Nunnally at the University of Minnesota, the curriculum is praised by therapists for being easy to use.

For more information, call 1-800-328-5099, or write to Interpersonal Communication Programs, Inc., 7201 S. Broadway, #11, Littleton, Colo. 80122.

Relationship Enhancement Therapy. Pioneered by Bernard and Louise Guerney, this approach stands out for long-term effectiveness when measured against marriage-enrichment programs, including Marriage Encounter. In part, its success can be attributed to the greater length of its program (nine to 10 weeks of two-hour sessions), but it also provides a unique emphasis on the teaching of empathy.

There are a few RE centers around the country, but Bernard Guerney, its originator, can be reached in Bethesda, Md., at 301-986-1479.

Better Wed Than Dead

Couples may want to think twice before saying "I don't." Recent research indicates that getting a divorce could kill you. For men, "being divorced and a nonsmoker is only slightly less dangerous than smoking a pack or more a day and staying married," says David B. Larson, the president of the National Institute for Healthcare Research, a think tank located in Rockville, Maryland.

Divorced men are twice as likely as married men to die prematurely from cardiovascular disease, four times more likely to die from suicide, and seven times more likely to die from pneumonia. Divorced women, on the other hand, have lower fatality rates than their married counterparts, but are more likely to suffer acute or chronic disease. And both sexes face a greater likelihood of accidental death for six months before and after divorce.

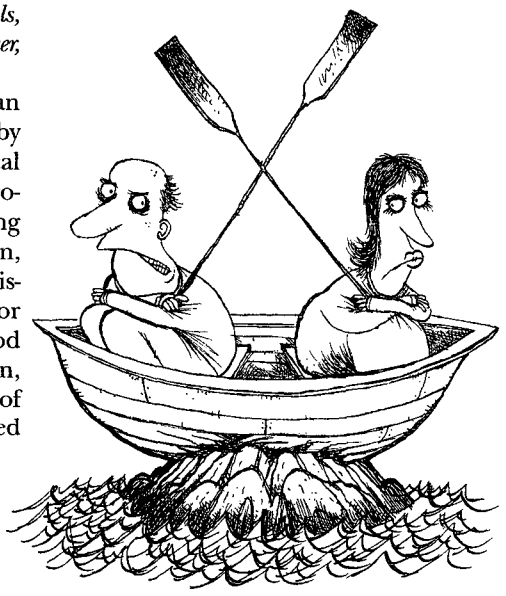

Illustration by David Clark

Separating spouses aren't the only ones to suffer the medical effects of a divorce. Children of divorce are 50 percent more likely to develop asthma, and 20 to 30 percent more likely to suffer an injury. And the deleterious effects last long beyond childhood. One long-term study at the University of California at Riverside found that people whose parents divorced before they were 21 faced a one-third greater risk of dying in any given year. Men whose parents had divorced had a median life span of 70 years, while those whose parents stayed married lived 10 years longer; for women, the figures were 82 versus 86 years.

If you value your health, get regular exercise, eat plenty of fruits and vegetables—and stay married. Of course, tense marriages carry their own health risks: A study by researchers at Ohio State University has found that couples who engage in fierce fighting suffer impaired immune systems.

Counting the Costs

Anyone interested in family issues but intimidated by the dense prose of academic journals will appreciate a recent book from the National Institute for Healthcare Research. Need to know how divorce contributes to health-care costs or the relationship between marital disruption and juvenile delinquency? It can all be found in *The Costly Consequences of Divorce: Assessing the Clinical, Economic, and Public Health Impact of Marital Disruption in the United States*, by David B. Larson, James P. Swyers, and Susan S. Larson. This 282-page manual is a mother lode of up-to-date research on everything from changes in attitudes about marriage and divorce to the morbidity consequences of divorce to the ingredients for marital satisfaction.

Some of the reasons examined for marital instability may not surprise: premarital pregnancy, short courtships, exposure to divorce as a child. "Those who marry before age 20," the book notes, "are twice as likely to divorce as those who wait until their twenties." But contrary to conventional wisdom, there is growing evidence that those who live together before marriage will experience poorer quality marriages and higher divorce rates than those who do not.

The book also gathers the latest data on the effect of religious commitment on marriage. One study found that marital dissolution among white men is three times more common for those who never attend church than those who attend at least twice a month. Protestants and Catholics as a group have higher divorce rates than Jews, but within each faith, the decisive issue is the degree of religious commitment. Part of the reason, researchers suggest, is that "those who actively participate in their church have a wide network of friends and associates to turn to for help in times of distress."

Although packed with social-science data, this book is surprisingly friendly to the lay reader—call it Cliff Notes for policy analysts. And it's a bargain at $40.

For a copy, contact the National Institute for Healthcare Research, 6110 Executive Blvd., Suite 908, Rockville, Md. 20852. Tel.: 301-984-7162, fax: 301-984-8143.

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A Modesto Proposal

We can save 90 percent of all marriages in America," boldly asserts Michael J. McManus, an ethics and religion columnist. Considering that the United States is the divorce capital of the world, that sounds like a pipe dream. But McManus, a sort of avuncular modern-day prophet, has seen what works—and what doesn't—in the marriage-making business. Calling churches little more than "blessing machines," he takes them to task for what he sees as an abject failure to support and nurture marriages (see his article "Veil of Tears," *Policy Review,* Winter 1994).

To counter this trend, McManus has drafted a practical blueprint for organizing congregations to adopt a united Community Marriage Policy, a sort of civil compact that requires prospective newlyweds to meet minimum standards of preparation and marriage enrichment. The bottom line: Participating churches pledge not to marry couples who refuse to enroll in the premarital program. McManus reasons that, since almost three-quarters of first marriages take place in a religious setting, church is a strategic place to begin rolling back divorce rates.

McManus also encourages congregations to locate "mentoring couples" to help the engaged and newly married in their midst—giving them advice on making their marriages and families work. "There are some 350,000 churches in America," he says, "and every one of the them has couples with solid marriages who've never been asked, trained, equipped, or inspired to do this job."

This church-based strategy is taking root—and seems to be bearing fruit. In 1986, Modesto, California, became the first city to institute a Community Marriage Policy. Since then, about 40 towns from Fairbanks, Alaska, to Montgomery, Alabama, have enacted such policies. After Modesto established its Community Marriage Policy, divorce rates dropped by 15 percent, and Peoria, Illinois, has experienced a 20 percent decline in its divorce rate since the churches in town signed a marriage policy in 1991.

For a fuller explication of the Community Marriage Policy idea, read McManus's book, *Marriage Savers: Helping Your Friends and Family Avoid Divorce* (Zondervan). *Marriage Savers* not only spells out ideas for organizing churches, but also is one of the best all-around resources for anyone who wants to throw a lifeline to a friend, a family member, anyone who seems to be drowning in America's culture of divorce.

Though moralistic in tone and filled with biblical references, the book brims with optimism. McManus also offers a set of six videotapes based on the book and a study guide aimed at church groups for a total price of $199.

For more information about putting together a Community Marriage Policy, contact Michael J. McManus, president, Marriage Savers Institute, 9500 Michael's Ct., Bethesda, Md. 20817. Tel.: 301-469-5870.

Showcasing Success

Between 800 to 1,200 people in the marriage-saving business—mentor couples, religious leaders, and marital therapists—will trek to Fort Worth, Texas, for the Second International Marriage Enrichment Conference, May 23 through May 25. Designed to showcase some of the leading marriage-building techniques, the conference will include workshops on communication skills and marriage preparation, as well as more than 40 seminars on topics ranging from the special needs of parents of preschoolers to maintaining sexual intimacy after recovery from a heart attack. The event is cosponsored by the Association for Couples in Marriage Enrichment (A.C.M.E.) and several other marriage groups.

For more information, contact Bobbye and Britton Wood, the event's coordinators in Fort Worth. Tel: 817-924-8509, fax: 817-927-7749.

The Woods also serve as copresidents of A.C.M.E., a nonprofit, nonsectarian membership organization based in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. This group was founded in 1973 by David and Vera Mace, a husband-and-wife team of marital therapists. The organization also acts as an informal clearinghouse for those interested in marriage-renewal efforts nationwide, and promotes marital support groups in local communities. Consisting of more than 1,100 couples, the organization puts out a bimonthly newsletter and coordinates weekend retreats, skills-learning classes, and seminars.

For more information about A.C.M.E., contact Sarah or Dave Catron, the executive directors, at 1-800-634-8325.

An "I Do" Reading List

The Good Marriage: How and Why Love Lasts, by Judith S. Wallerstein and Sandra Blakeslee (Houghton Mifflin). Drawing on the experience of Wallerstein's 40-year family-therapy practice and a recent study of 50 "happy" couples, this book outlines four types of "good marriages" and the nine psychological tasks they accomplish.

Why Marriages Succeed or Fail: And How You Can Make Yours Last, by John Gottman (Simon & Schuster). Stable marriages can be toppled by what Gottman calls the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: criticism, contempt, defensiveness, and stonewalling. An excellent, thoroughly researched how-to book.

You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation, by Deborah Tannen (Ballantine). A Georgetown University linguist examines the most common roadblocks in male/female communications.

His Needs/Her Needs: Building an Affair-Proof Marriage, by Willard F. Harley Jr. (Revell). How to remain irresistible to your spouse by recognizing and fulfilling his or her fundamental needs. Although Harley's advice may seem a bit medieval to modern sensibilities, there is much wisdom here.

Love Life for Every Married Couple, by Ed Wheat (Zondervan). A classic for those who want a biblically based Christian guide to the secret to staying in love. By a physician and certified sex therapist.

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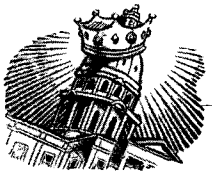

Abuses and Usurpations

Big-Government Junkies

The great budget debate between President Clinton and Congress is about more than the level of federal spending and taxes. The fundamental conflict is over the responsibility for addressing America's great social crises. President Clinton wants Washington—Congress, federal bureaucrats, federal judges—in charge. Republicans in Congress argue that Big Government has failed to address the human needs of America. They want to return that responsibility to where it has historically rested—with families, communities, churches and synagogues, and state and local governments.

The Clinton administration is hallucinating about the power of a federal drug-education block grant to stop teenage drug use.

The conflict was dramatically illustrated when Clinton threw down the gauntlet last January in his State of the Union address: "I challenge Congress not to cut out support for drug-free schools." In June 1995, the president vetoed legislation to limit the Department of Education's "Drug-Free Schools and Communities" program. With teenage drug use rising rapidly since 1992, who could oppose antidrug programs for America's youth? But the central question is who bears the responsibility for taking action.

The GOP Congress voted last year to cut by 60 percent the $465-million budget for the antidrug program. With cameras rolling, Clinton vetoed the bill in the Rose Garden and called Republicans "extremists" opposed to drug education. His message shows how federal programs diffuse responsibility and undermine citizenship at the local level. No one doubts the importance of reducing illegal drug use. And the federal government has important responsibilities in the fight against illegal drugs: targeting drug trafficking from abroad, for example, as well as interstate commerce in illegal substances and money-laundering.

But teaching children that drug use is wrong and harmful is primarily the responsibility of parents and local communities—youth organizations, religious institutions, schools, and police. Federal funding is neither necessary nor sufficient for conveying this lesson by word and deed.

Moreover, the program in question provides roughly $7.25 per pupil. So by the time this money makes its way through the various state and local bureaucracies, many schools receive less than $3 per student. The president suggests that all those parents and teachers who seek to dissuade young people from using illegal drugs will cease to do so if they fail to receive a federal subsidy of $3 a child.

The Drug-Free Schools program began in 1987 during the Reagan administration's expansion of the war on drugs. With good intentions, Congress and the executive branch decided to spend more on federal, state, and local efforts to prevent and treat drug abuse and enforce narcotics laws. Our nation's leaders were particularly anxious to contain the explosion in crack addiction. Later, it became clear that crack use had peaked in 1985 and declined rapidly—proving that efforts by parents and communities were working long before any federal program tried to "help" them.

The federal government increased the appropriation for the Drug-Free Schools program from $200 million in 1987 to more than $624 million in 1992, but paid very little attention to what was actually happening to them. According to former Michigan drug czar Bob Peterson, "The health-education lobby misled educators into believing that drugs only pose another personal health choice. In doing so, federal drug funds underwrote controversial sex-education expansion and condom giveaways and enriched health-education consultants."

Before Governor Engler and the state's education department put a stop to it, $32 million in antidrug funds were diverted to the Michigan Model for Comprehensive School Health. More than $81,000 was used to purchase giant plastic teeth and toothbrushes. Kids who brush, said the "experts," do not use drugs. Another $1.5 million was spent on models of the human torso that were used just once. A Washington, D.C., school used federal antidrug money to take its basketball team to a restaurant. According to testimony before a congressional committee, 400 students at Dallas's Sunset High School received "A"s for a federally funded course about substance abuse that never met and had no teacher.

But the damage is much greater than fiscal waste. Such federal grants do not empower local communities; instead, they turn the federal government into a tax collector for state and local educational bureaucracies and in so doing make them wasteful and unaccountable to their communities.

However well-intentioned, the nationalization of local obligations undermines responsibility and accountability. By claiming that effective antidrug education depends largely on federal programs, President Clinton has done America's youth a tremendous disservice. Parents, teachers, and communities should not leave to the federal government a responsibility that really belongs to them.

by John P. Walters

John P. Walters is the president of the New Citizenship Project, based in Washington, D.C.

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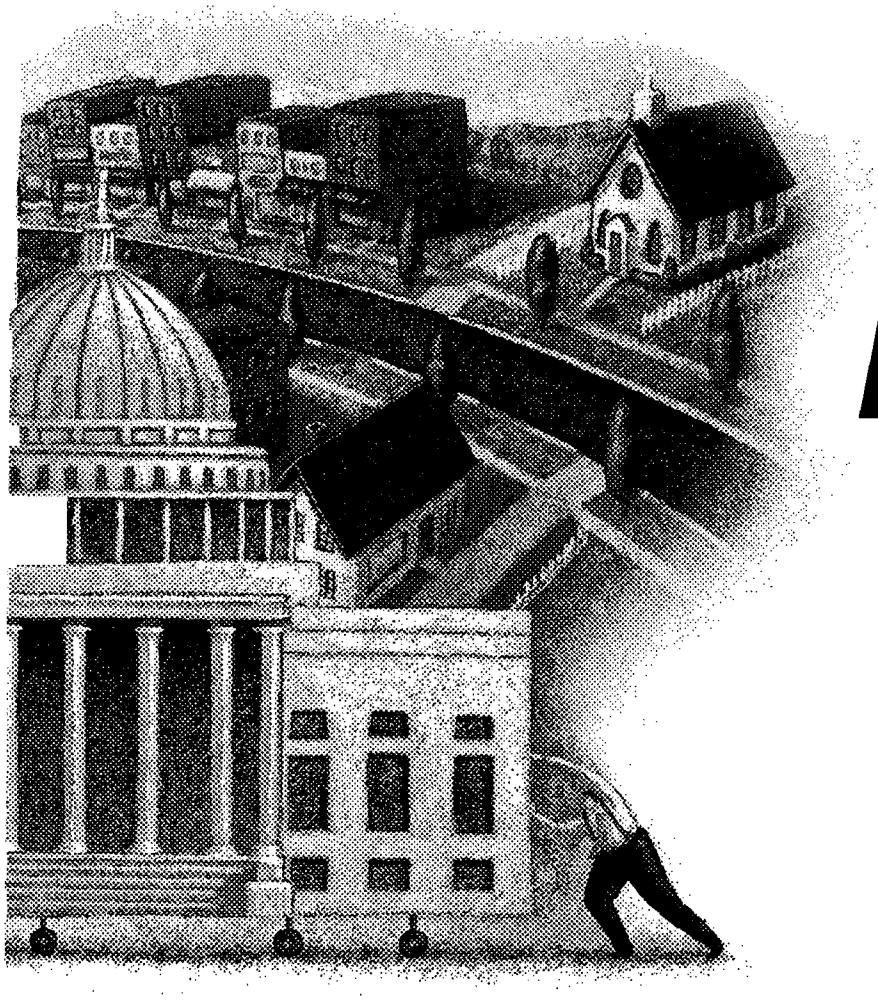
A New Contract With America



By

Sam Brownback

"I **love my nation** but I fear my government." So read a bumper sticker I saw in Topeka, Kansas, during my first campaign for political office. I was running for Congress and I had to wonder: Was this not the same government that had mobilized the nation to win World War II, that had defeated communism, that had built the interstate highway system? What had gone so desperately wrong? A few months later, I understood perfectly the meaning of that message.

Americans deeply believe in the principles of America, but they don't see them reflected in their government. Americans believe in freedom, democracy, moral values, family, community, and free markets. Yet their government seizes their rights without their consent. Government has become their master, not their servant.

To address these concerns, I ran a campaign in 1994 based on three words: Reduce, Reform,

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and Return. Reduce the size and scope of the federal government. Reform the Congress. Return to the basic values that had built the country: work and family and the recognition of a higher moral authority.

While many were rightfully skeptical back then that what I said would ever happen, none says so now. We are finally seeing some progress toward reversing a trend thought unstoppable: the growth of government, the irresponsibility of Congress, and the loss of the moral character upon which the nation was founded. The current debate over the budget is about more than simply learning to live within our means. It is a turning point in the history of the federal government. The crucial issue is who should be in charge of major programs like welfare and Medicaid—the bureaucrats and regulators and members of Congress in Washington, or the American people and their elected state and local representatives.

Our Founding Fathers designed the federal government to be limited. But in the name of compassion, the federal government now tries to do all things for all people. We have discovered, by spending trillions of dollars and taking rights and freedoms away from individuals, that government cannot solve all of our problems. Indeed, exceeding the authority for which the system was designed hurts people.

The GOP message of 1996 should be a return of our government to the core principles of the Constitution.

I certainly discovered this in the district I represent.

LeCompton, Kansas, has a population of 750. At the city hall one day, I met Jeff Goodrick, who showed me a ramp that has provided access to the handicapped for 20 years. Under the new Americans with Disabilities Act, the town was told to replace this ramp for an estimated cost of $15,000, even though the design of the old ramp had never denied anyone access to the tiny city hall. The new one was to be slightly longer, with a slightly more gradual slope. The people of LeCompton don't have the money to pay for this new ramp without sacrificing other services essential to their community. Their freedom had been diminished, and for what?

In Erie, Kansas, I walked up and down the main street while I was campaigning. I entered a small repair shop and visited with the owner, Rex Bohrer. He had the thick, callused hands of a man who has not lived a life of leisure. I asked him for his vote. Rex stared up at me from behind an air-conditioner he was repairing and said, "You runnin' for the U.S. Congress?"—to which I answered a timid "yes." He said, "I want to talk to you." He led me to the front of his shop and showed me a government manual containing more than 50 pages of fine print telling him how he must repair refrigerators under new regulations regarding the chemical freon. He asked, "What the heck am I supposed to do with this? I don't understand this manual, and you tell me that if I violate any provision it could cost me $10,000. What am I supposed to do?"

I didn't know. I certainly do not want to pollute the environment with dangerous chemicals. But here was an honest citizen trying to earn an honest wage who was being directed by an impossibly complex manual and who face fines of up to $10,000 if he violates any of its provisions. Rex's only recourse is to quit the business that he needs for survival. What is he to do?

In Girard, Kansas, I was speaking to the seniors of Girard High School about the Social Security trust fund. A number of these students had already paid some Social Security taxes. I asked how many of them expected to receive anything from Social Security when they reached the age of 65. Out of nearly 100 students, only four raised their hands. Then I asked how many of them believed in extraterrestrials. About 15 hands went up. This mirrors the responses of young people everywhere. Nationwide, fewer Americans under 25 believe that they will receive anything from Social Security when they retire than believe in UFOs.

In Troy, a farming community in northeast Kansas, I held a town meeting about the need to balance the budget and cut the government back for the sake of future generations. Blaine Holder held up his hand and said, "Well, I can tell you how to do away with the entire U.S. Department of Agriculture and the farm programs, but we as farmers have to have some sort of promise that the government won't use food as a political weapon. We need a contract with the State Department that if they ever use food as a diplomatic weapon, they will reimburse us for the reduction in price that we receive because of our government's actions. If the government would enter into a contract of this nature with the American farmer, I think many of them would be willing to do without all of the government interference and price supports." Of course, Blaine thought the possibility of such a contract was hopeless.

In nearly every town hall I visit, I hear complaints about our tax system. The complicated and frequently politically driven statutes that

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now make up our tax code compromise our economic growth and provoke class envy. No one can understand the 10,000 pages of tax laws; even the tax lawyers complain about its complexity. When America's taxpayers call the IRS for information, they get five different answers from five different agents. Whatever happened to a tax code designed only for raising federal revenue? How did we end up with a system that micromanages our lives and our economy?

Everywhere I go, I hear stories that reveal an overreaching regime distorted by the false notion that centralized authority will lead this nation on the right path. In fact, the American people believe they can handle most of their problems better than the federal government can. They are right.

How has a nation conceived in liberty and opposition to tyranny arrived at a point today where citizens are more fearful of their own government threatening their rights than they are of any other government?

We got off track by forgetting our core principles. But the good news is there is a way out. It's called the Constitution. However much we may have strayed from the precepts of that document, Americans continue to revere it and the principles it enshrines. Ratified by our founding generation and amended by succeeding generations, the Constitution stands equally for self-government and limited government. It is the instrument with which we empowered the federal government in the first place. But it is also the instrument with which we limited that government. If we would only return to those principles of limited government, then our nation, our economy, our liberties, and our social fiber will grow stronger than we have seen for a generation.

The bureaucratic model of growth and prosperity for a nation has been shown wanting all over the world, from communism in the former U.S.S.R., to socialism throughout Europe, to the welfare state in America. Those running for office in 1996 will find that one of the keys to success and leadership will be a vision of hope, of a brighter future with a smaller government—one that is at last turning toward its constitutional principles and away from the idea that a centralized, bureaucratic government will solve all of our problems.

We must create an environment in which Americans look first to themselves and to each other for help, not to their congressmen. We must return to a society where people rely on their communities and do not regard their government as a substitute for civil society.

Faith-based institutions can address the needs of the poor more compassionately than federal bureaucrats can. Right now America could profit tremendously from a Fourth Awakening of the moral and spiritual fiber of this country. The government cannot lead that and it certainly should not thwart it. Government should take the Hippocratic Oath to "do no harm" to the values, the faith, and the moral and spiritual roots of the people of this deeply spiritual land.

We must restore the master-servant relationship between the people and the government. The people, of course, are the master, and government the servant, but even the best servant can't do everything. We must remind ourselves, as Ronald Reagan once said, that a government big enough to do everything for everybody is big enough to take everything from everyone.

The Constitution gives the federal government a limited number of important enumerated powers—for example, to borrow money, to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the states, to establish post offices and post roads, to declare war, to coin money, to lay and collect taxes for all these purposes. Powers not granted and enumerated are retained by the states and the people. Much of the federal government literally has no constitutional basis. And that is where we find ourselves today.

The underlying principles limiting the federal government are embodied in our founding documents—the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Civil War Amendments. These documents paint a picture of government, and the role of government in human affairs, that is subtle and profound. As the product of many compromises, the Constitution is not perfect; in fact, one of its compromises took a civil war to resolve. The process of refinement began with the Bill of Rights, which concludes—in the Ninth and Tenth Amendments—with a succinct statement of the Constitution's blueprint for a government of enumerated powers and delegated to the government by the people. Finally, the Civil War Amendments ended the immoral institution of slavery, then corrected the imbalance between federal and state power by adding a federal check on the states' power, thus adding greater force to the Declaration of Independence's original promise of liberty and equality for all.

Americans today fear their own government more than any foreign power.

In the Declaration of Independence, we find the American vision of freedom and responsibility in its purest form. The Declaration's essence

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is captured in the few short phrases that begin with the most important phrase of all, "We hold these truths to be self-evident." In that simple line, Thomas Jefferson placed us squarely in the natural-law or higher-law tradition, which holds that there are "self-evident truths" of right or wrong. And what is that higher law? It begins with a premise of moral equality—"all men are created equal"—then defines our equality by reference to our "inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

There, in a nutshell, is the moral vision—a world in which moral people are free to pursue their own happiness, constrained only by the equal rights of others to do the same. It is not the responsibility of government to secure our happiness for us. That is our responsibility—and our right. The role of government, rather, is to secure our rights, as the Declaration goes on to say. That is its basic function. But to be just or legitimate, government's powers must be derived "from the consent of the governed."

We have evolved this century from a constitutional government to a government that behaves without regard to constitutional principle. That moral vision in which people have the right and responsibility to pursue their own happiness has been lost. The federal government no longer *derives* its powers from the people—it just takes them. This is why citizens distrust their government so much today. It is time that we re-limit our federal government so it can perform its proper functions well, and leave to the people and the states those functions which the federal government was never intended to perform.

If we can begin to restore a constitutional government, I foresee an America where freedom and responsibility grow for individuals, families, and communities. Freedom and responsibility cannot be separated. Our freedoms never belonged to the federal government, but to the individual. We must make our government return them.

I foresee an America that is the most family-friendly nation on earth. The family, not the government, should be the backbone of society. Government should cease trying to supplant it. When we are careless, legislative initiatives can harm families. By pledging to spare families from additional legislative and regulatory tinkering, we will do more to protect the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness than any federal legislative quick-fix.

I also foresee an America where far fewer decisions are made by Washington, and more are made by individuals, markets, or localities. Imagine the federal government, operating within its limited role, serving as a model of efficiency and effectiveness. A federal government focused on its constitutional missions—rather than creating new ones—could become a model for other governments.

So, how do we return to a constitutional government? To start, we can give the American people a clear choice in the next election. I propose that all Republican candidates running for president, the U.S. Senate, and the U.S. House of Representatives start working together to develop a specific plan to return to a limited federal government as intended by our Founding Fathers. We must develop an agenda to recover the rights of individuals from their government.

We must ask of every government program: Is this constitutional?

A New Contract With America

Call it a new Contract With America—one that passes laws, not merely proposes them. Our party's greatest asset is our message, not our messengers. We should stake the future of our party—and the country—on a certain set of ideas, a governing moral code, rather than on any particular politician. Our goal should be to implement reforms consistent with those timeless principles embodied in the Constitution.

Our pledge to the American people should be clear: "If you elect a Republican president and maintain Republican majorities in the House of Representatives and the Senate, we will do the following . . . ." Here are some broad outlines for such a contract:

I. Reduce Government Spending

We will reduce the size of the federal government by a tangible measurement over a period of four years. My preference would be a reduction of federal spending from 22 percent of our GDP to 15 percent or less (which may take longer than four years). Imagine taking these resources from the hands of government and putting them back into the pockets of families and entrepreneurs.

II. Transform the Tax System

We will remove all social engineering from the U.S. tax code to create a new tax system designed strictly for the purpose of raising revenue efficiently. The power to lay and collect taxes was meant to fund the enumerated powers, not to become a political device in and of itself. Today, we discourage certain behaviors and

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reward others based purely on the whims of those who control the tax leviathan.

III. Reorganize the Executive Branch

We will redesign the executive branch to be consistent with its constitutional authority instead of one still operating on 20th-century, centralized government experiments. We will replace the 14 cabinet-level agencies, which impose more than half a trillion dollars worth of regulations upon the U.S. economy each year, with perhaps nine, and restrict their regulatory powers under constitutional principles. The Constitution does not authorize at the federal level, for example, many of the activities within the departments of Housing and Urban Development, Commerce, Education, and Energy.

IV. Create a Constitutional Caucus

We will form a constitutional caucus or commission to evaluate all federal programs for an authorizing principle under the Constitution. A constitutional cleansing of the federal government is long overdue. Furthermore, Congress should require that all legislative proposals cite their precise constitutional authority before they can be enacted. In the case of existing illegitimate programs, Congress should identify and debate which ones should be returned to the states or phased out entirely.

V. Seek Change with Compassion

As we phase out unconstitutional programs, we will implement change with compassion, so that people currently dependent upon federal programs will have time to prepare for the transition and enjoy the empowerment they receive from their new freedoms.

VI. Pay Off the National Debt

We will implement a plan not only to balance the budget, but to run surpluses and pay off our $5-trillion national debt over 30 years, so that our children can decide their own future.

VII. Remove Barriers to Good Citizenship

We will erase from the books all laws, regulations, and other barriers that prevent local voluntary and civic institutions from helping their neighbors. Faith-based and civic institutions that are leading the fight for a civil society should not be stymied and penalized by mountains of federal laws and regulations that merely supplant local acts of kindness with the cold attitude of "government knows best." Why do we have a poverty class at all, when we spend an average of $36,000 in federal, state, and local welfare funds on every family below the poverty level? Because as much as 70 cents of each government anti-poverty dollar doesn't even reach the poor—it is engulfed by administrative overhead and "professional" personnel. We will form a task force to conduct an exhaustive investigation of rules and laws that are interfering with those faith-based and civic institutions that are working to revive their communities and families. Then we will implement its recommendations. Local church and community groups can do far more to bring their people back to self-sufficiency than a central planner could ever hope to achieve.

There are conservatives who believe that, with the proper leadership, the federal government can engineer the comeback of the family and civil society. But we should not yield to such temptations. If we are trying to end social engineering from the left, how can we justify it from the right? Our highest goals should not rely on new legislative initiatives as much as on the proper legislative restraint.

With this platform and this contract with the American people, we will continue to be the party of ideas and of commitment to constitutional principles, to prosperity, to a revived citizenry, and to a government on the side of those who want the culture in America to reflect their basic values. This is more important now than ever before, because government thwarts those values by attempting to replace them. Today, on behalf of the "public good," government crowds out the individual's "pursuit of happiness"—including private investment and private charity—by replacing them with government substitutes.

Local church and community groups can do far more to move people towards self-sufficiency than any government planner.

We face today a set of deep-seated problems—overweening government, massive public debt, and crippling dependence on federal programs. But we face as well a historic opportunity to base our solutions upon our very roots as a nation, and upon our principles as a people—freedom and responsibility.

Let us seize the opportunity before us by recovering those principles. If we restore government to its proper role under our Constitution, we will look back in years to come and say that the moment was right, and we were a match for that moment. And our children and grandchildren will thank us.

Sam Brownback *is a freshman Republican congressman from Kansas.*

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"I Have a Dream"

Ideas for Rebuilding American Culture

By

Harvey Mansfield

Danielle Crittenden

Milton Friedman

Virginia I. Postrel

Witold Rybczynski

Jack Miles

William J. Bratton

Charles Wolf Jr.

Claire West Orr

William A. Galston

Michael Medved

Pete du Pont

Betsy McCaughey Ross

James R. Stoner Jr.

James P. Pinkerton

Myron E. Magnet

Walter E. Williams

Jason Turner

Heather Higgins

& Paul Weyrich

America is entering a great age of social entrepreneurship, rivaling the private organizational creativity of 100 years ago. The mid-to-late 19th and early 20th centuries saw the creation of the Red Cross, the Scouts movement, the Carnegie libraries, the NAACP, thousands of colleges and universities, and countless other private organizations. As Americans turn away from reliance on Washington, they are once again applying Yankee ingenuity by building private institutions to address our great cultural crises. Already we are seeing new experiments such as privately funded voucher programs that enable poor schoolchildren to escape inadequate public schools, organizations that seek to rehabilitate prisoners through religious conversion, and groups such as Promise Keepers that aim to instill responsibility among fathers and husbands.

Here are some practical ideas for improving life from some of America's most visionary thinkers. We asked each contributor to describe an institution he or she hopes will be created or expanded over the next 20 years.

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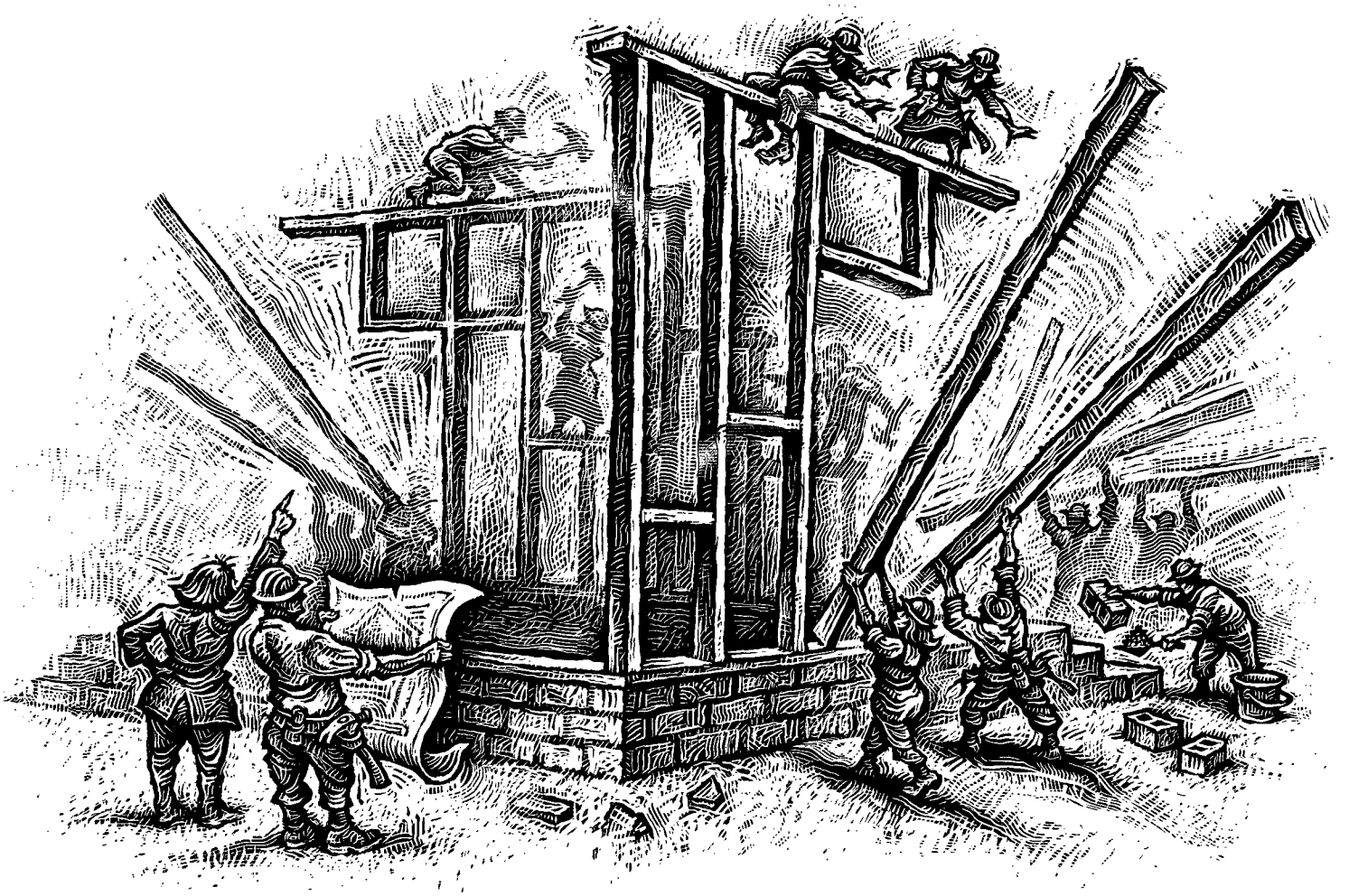

Harvey Mansfield
A Great-Books Junior College

My idea is to create a new one- or two-year junior college for bright students (or even not-so-bright students) to earn the education they did not receive in high school and won't get in college. Actually I heard this idea first from Hillel Fradkin of the Bradley Foundation. But it's a good one, and I think it can work.

I begin with reference to a resource of which I am painfully aware: a cohort of unemployed Ph.D.s of (academically) conservative bent who are well educated in the works of great authors. To these political philosophers could be added others in history, literature, languages, science, and mathematics to teach a curriculum encompassing all that is necessary and fundamental and currently neglected or perverted in higher education.

This junior college would draw inspiration partly from disdain for political correctness and dislike of the educationists' notion of "self-esteem." But it would also be devoted to the love of learning and powered by the enthusiasm of youth. Its graduates could go on to name universities with prestigious degrees, football teams, and alumni associations. At these institutions, most of them now tired and corrupt, they would be welcomed—or at least tolerated—as something fresh, new, and strong.

American education today is perhaps too weak even to resist its chosen enemies—those who believe in quality. A new institution like this would serve a need and make a point. All it requires, really, is an entrepreneur.

Harvey Mansfield *is a professor of government at Harvard University.*

Danielle Crittenden
"Pick Up Your Room"

This one is going to be tricky. I dream of seeing the revival of the institution of childhood. That would mean: Children would be taught to clean up their rooms before they started on the environment. Their ability to keep domestic peace would be valued over their opinions on world peace. A 12-year-old would own a gun only to hunt squirrels. The streets would be safe for

Illustration by Phil Foster

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children to play outside, unwatched, until dusk. They could get into scrapes with other kids without activating a battalion of police and social workers. Girls would be left alone to have tea parties if they wished, and boys to play with war toys.

In the schools, teachers would be more concerned about a child's grades than his self-esteem. Sex would never be considered "safe." Television, even—or especially—public television, would never be considered educational. Children would address their teachers—and all adults—as Mr. and Miss, or as "Sir" and "Ma'am," and not, like impertinent phone solicitors, by their first names.

Of course, a revival of the institution of childhood implies a revival of the institution of parenthood. Mothers and fathers might by tired, nagging, grumpy, and uncomprehending—but they would be *present.* A baby sitter would once again be called a baby sitter and not a "caregiver." During the day, she would sit in furry slippers in the living room, watching soaps. She certainly would not be expected to hold degrees in Early Childhood Education, because nobody would imagine that a baby sitter could substitute for parental love, attention, and discipline.

As I said: It's going to be tricky.

Danielle Crittenden *is the editor of* The Women's Quarterly.

Milton Friedman
A Dream That Won't Die

My dream is not a new one. It is now 40 years old. It is a dream of institutional change that will enable parents to choose the schools their children go to. It is a dream of a private educational industry that can compete on equal terms with our present system of elementary and secondary schooling—a governmental monopoly dominated by the teachers' unions for the benefit of its officials and members, not of the students.

Today, a parent who chooses to send his child to a private school is required to pay twice for his child's schooling—once in the form of taxes and once in the form of tuition. This imposes a heavy burden on lower income classes and ensures that only the well-do-to are free to choose. We can and should remedy that inequity by allowing students who choose to go to private rather than public schools to receive scholarships or vouchers equal to a substantial fraction of what the state would have been required to spend.

No institution in our country is as technologically backward as schooling. We school children today just as we did 200 years ago: A teacher in a classroom instructing a group of students. Some schools have added computers but, in the main, have not made effective use of them. If we opened the gate to widespread competition, we would enjoy a dramatic change in technology. I cannot predict what that change would be, any more than one could have predicted the consequences of breaking up AT&T's monopoly on telephone service, or of inventing an elementary personal computer in a garage.

Similarly, a widespread scholarship system of the kind I describe would open the door to an influx of innovative enterprises offering different kinds of schooling to attract customers. Faced with competition, the public schools would have to improve or close down. No doubt some would be unable to stand the heat, but others would rapidly improve. The result would be a large, creative, highly developed, private educational industry that offers schooling for every taste, plus a vastly improved but somewhat smaller public-school system. A widening gap between the earnings of less skilled and more skilled workers threatens our social cohesion; an improvement in the quality of schooling, especially for lower-income families and the so-called underclass, would make a major contribution to closing that gap.

Milton Friedman, *the Nobel Prize-winning economist, is a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institute.*

Virginia I. Postrel
Private Science Funding

The visionary institution builders of the last century bequeathed us not only orphanages and schools but observatories and research universities; not only institutions to uplift the unfortunate but also ones to explore the universe. Since the end of World War II, however, science has become dependent upon government as a funder and direct employer. The results have been mixed: We've enjoyed a tremendous expansion of knowledge and suffered the inevitable corruption spawned by the bureaucratic process, which favors the cautious, the well-known, and the politically connected.

Fortunately, government is beginning to lose its quasi-monopoly on scientific funding. Since

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the explosion of commercial opportunities in the biological sciences, Wall Street has become a major source of research money. Meanwhile, the new fortunes of our age, and some philanthropic innovators, are creating models for 21st-century scientific philanthropy.

The most striking example may be the privatization of the Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence (SETI) since Congress defunded it in 1993. With money from such technology entrepreneurs as David Packard and William Hewlett (founders of Hewlett-Packard), Paul Allen (Microsoft), and Gordon Moore (Intel), the reborn Project Phoenix continues to scan the skies with radio telescopes, seeking signs of life.

Quite unlike bureaucracies, the rich are quirky. Their tastes in science may be eccentric—witness the experiment in living known as Biosphere II. And as the MacArthur Foundation's "genius grants" demonstrate, they may endow trendy leftism along with innovative, cross-disciplinary science and true iconoclasm. Such is the trade off we tolerate in exchange for dispensing with the application forms, the lobbying, the disciplinary boundaries, and the scientific conservatism of government grantmaking.

Science research has become too dependent on government to explore truly innovative and iconoclastic ideas.
—Virginia I. Postrel

Wealthy benefactors often have a personal interest in what they fund. Michael Milken suffers from prostrate cancer. His millions have energized the search for a cure, thanks to quick-turnaround grant-making—a total of $25 million—and another $4 million in philanthropic "venture capital" to create a consortium for pooling resources and data. I hope we shall see many more such experiments.

Virginia I. Postrel *is the editor of* Reason *magazine.*

Witold Rybczynski
Metropolitan Home

Our fragmented metropolitan areas have come to resemble battlefields where national corporations, developers, county planning boards, historical societies, environmental lobbies, and neighborhood groups slog it out. City planning nowadays means staking out one's own turf and keeping interlopers at bay, be they Wal-Mart, the builders of affordable housing, theme parks, or simply development in general. Some have proposed federal regulations to mandate regional quotas for housing or to force metropolitan cooperation. The last time we attempted top-down city planning was in the 1960s. These disastrous, federally funded renewal programs bulldozed neighborhoods and erected acres of public housing—much of which is now dysfunctional. That is not the way.

Perhaps the last successful effort to improve American cities was the nationwide movement for civic amelioration during the first two decades of this century. The movement was spearheaded by business leaders, municipal politicians, social reformers, and architects, and found its chief impetus in the American Civic Association, founded in 1903. If only we could find the will—and the spirit—to develop a civic association for the 1990s.

This is not about "saving the cities." Our old, decaying urban areas are just part of the problem. Nor is it about recreating a lost urban past. We must first recognize that our new metropolitan way of life will take us in new directions. A revived civic association could provide a vision for an urban future that seems to be missing today. It would also encourage dialogue among the warring metropolitan factions. I propose a national organization with local chapters, bound by the principle that only citizens acting locally have the power to improve their surroundings. Communities—unlike markets—don't just happen; they have to be earned.

Witold Rybczynski *is the Margy and Martin Meyerson Professor of Urbanism at the University of Pennsylvania.*

Jack Miles
A Capitalist Labor Movement

The most important private institution created by American society in the early decades of the 20th century was the American labor movement. The greatest institutional need in American society as the 20th century ends is for a new labor movement.

Though the phrase "cold war" entered the English language after World War II, a cold war between democratic capitalism and totalitarian communism had begun decades before World War II and lasted for decades after it. Capitalist society won that war for political and military as well as economic reasons, but to the extent that victory can be stated in economic terms, it was the victory of capitalism's private labor move-

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ment over communism's worker state. Communism was never militarily defeated, and the hunger in the former communist states for Western-style political democracy is moderate. But eventually the most repressive regimes in history were overwhelmed by worker demands for the abundance enjoyed by the West.

Today, the condition of Western workers is in steady deterioration for reasons that the early labor movement would be incapable of addressing. Capital is organized across national boundaries; labor is not. In an unequal contest, labor grows more disorganized and weaker in the West, most especially in the United States, with each passing year. Wages stagnate, benefits are eliminated, the work week lengthens, safety conditions worsen.

Meanwhile, capital scours the world for the cheapest, most disorganized, most easily exploited labor—including child labor, prison labor, and even outright slave labor. Unless this deterioration can be arrested, we may see once again the desperate conditions that in the late 19th century made the worker state seem a reasonable alternative.

What would a new capitalist labor movement—private, just as the first one was private—look like? I don't know, but thanks to mutual funds and pension plans, stockholders and workers are increasingly the same people.

The new stockholders have not found a way to collectivize and mobilize their capital on behalf of themselves as, simultaneously, labor. If they could do this, they might be seen as creating a new kind of labor movement. The strike would not be the tool of choice for this labor movement; but if the movement could impose its will in other ways, the middle class that the first labor movement played so large a part in creating might begin to recover from its current, precipitous decline.

***Jack Miles** is a professor at Claremont Graduate School in Claremont, California.*

William J. Bratton: Police Training for Youth

I always knew what I wanted to do when I grew up: I always wanted to be a cop. Growing up in Boston, I admired the police and the responsibility they took for others. From my earliest years, when police officers helped me across the street on my way to school, they were strong role models. It was a natural thing for me to emulate them.

For a lot of kids today, it's not so simple. Many kids are alienated from the police, and their peers reinforce the alienation. Instead of seeing cops as assisting people, they see them as authority figures to be defied. Before many young people mature and finally realize that they'd like to have police careers, they already have police records. It's a tragic waste of kids who could have made good, even great, police officers. It's also a big problem for society because—as demographers warn—the late 1990s will bring an increase in the youth population and a likely rise in the crime rate.

For all these reasons, I have a dream of developing a youth police career path to provide the children of New York City with police role models in their developmental years. By exposing kids to positive interactions with police, the career path would help keep them focused and directed in their teen years and simultaneously ensure the police department of a stronger field of candidates from which to choose.

Although we would continue to reach into elementary schools with antidrug programs, the official police youth career path would begin with kids in their early teens, who could attend a youth academy for six weeks in the summer beginning at age 12. The academy would familiarize them with the police department and heighten their interest in police careers while giving them a strong dose of antidrug and antigang education. The NYPD ran a successful pilot youth academy in Brooklyn last summer with 150 attendees, and we've raised the funds, from private and government sources, to enroll a thousand attendees from all over the city this summer.

After the youth academy, we would recruit kids into the next step in a youth career path—the Law Enforcement Explorers, a division of the Boy Scouts of America, open to young men and women ages 14 to 21. Now established in 66 of the New York City police department's 97 precincts, transit districts, and housing service areas, the NYPD Explorers serve about 2,000 young people with a program of character

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Charles Wolf Jr. and Claire West Orr
Hand Up for Homeless

Bill Williams was living in the alleys of Long Beach this time last year. He was well educated and had exceptional verbal skills, but used his "smarts" to do little jobs until he had enough money to buy his drugs for the day. He would "zone out," promising himself that tomorrow he would change. This went on for three years.

Finally, one day he called "Info Line" and was told about P.A.T.H. (People Assisting the Homeless) in West Los Angeles. He lied about having been drugfree for 30 days and was admitted to Phase I of P.A.T.H.'s residential program.

Today he is an account executive at a publication called *Senior Life.* He has his own apartment and drives a company car.

Today Bill Williams and hundreds like him are hard-working, taxpaying members of society. Why? Because representatives from churches, synagogues, and the business community met 10 years ago and decided that they would try to do something to help the growing numbers of homeless people gravitating toward the affluent Westside of Los Angeles.

Residents of the P.A.T.H. home-site are required to seek employment immediately. They are also obliged to keep the building clean and do their own laundry; in return they occupy a room in a newly remodeled building—a safe and cheerful environment. A tight spending constraint limits them to a bus pass and $10 a week for incidental expenses.

Members of the P.A.T.H. community have recently learned to write resumés, contact potential employers, and acquire computer skills at P.A.T.H.'s Job Access Center located in the same building.

While at P.A.T.H., men and women (and children over four) live with others who are also determined to change their lives. Peer pressure and support, a small but caring staff, an execu-

building, citizenship training, and physical fitness.

While participating in the Explorers, young people could also attend a specialty high school for students interested in policing, fire fighting, and other public-safety careers. A public-safety high school, now in the early planning stages, would show young people how their academic work builds toward their desired careers and use examples from police and other public-safety agencies as teaching tools. It would also surround them with like-minded students with similar goals, exerting a very different and more beneficial kind of peer pressure.

The NYPD is raising the qualifications for police officers this year, requiring candidates to have 60 college credits and to have reached the age of 22. In a continuation of the youth career path, students attending colleges in the City University system could serve as police cadets, a police internship offering college credits for working in unpaid, part-time positions with the NYPD. The department would also assist cadets in finding part-time paying jobs in the private security industry or in the New York City school security system, both of which have had difficulty in recruiting quality personnel.

In either capacity, cadets could practice the skills of projecting authority, mediating conflicts, and defusing potentially violent situations. Another advantage of using them in the school security system—which Mayor Giuliani is planning to place under the direction of the NYPD in the near future—is that these young security guards would serve as role models to the next generation of young people. Unlike the cadet program we have now—which provides stipends to 320 cadets a year out of city and federal funds—this program would earn its own way. By the time the cadets were ready to enter the police department, they'd have a significant work history, college background, and police training. They would probably require less training at our police academy, and would certainly be better prepared for the discipline and lifestyle of police work. Our academy would thus build a police force from a better base of candidates.

Peer pressure leads many young people astray. In some of the more impoverished neighborhoods, just hanging out on the street corner can be a career path straight to crime. Through the police youth career path, we would offer the kids the opportunity to hang out with us. If we capture them early, it can make all the difference in the world. The kids get a focus and a goal, private security and school security get better employees, and the city gets a much better crop of candidates for police officers. The department would have a larger pool of minority candidates and a larger pool of candidates who live in the city. The very group—teenagers and young adults—that is predicted to cause all the law-enforcement problems in the late 1990s can begin to be part of the solution. In my dream, everybody wins.

William J. Bratton *is the police commissioner of New York City.*

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tive director with a "staff sergeant" approach and confidence that "tough love" works—all these contribute to a rehabilitation/success rate that exceeds 90 percent. P.A.T.H.'s board of directors raises half its budget in the private sector, and possesses the courage and vision to make P.A.T.H., as one resident called it, the "Rolls Royce of homeless programs."

The people who started P.A.T.H. had a dream. Prompted by the needs of the community, they decided to help people who had a chance to return to the mainstream. Other communities could emulate P.A.T.H. There are many other folks like Bill Williams who need a hand up, not a handout.

Charles Wolf Jr. *is the dean of the RAND Graduate School, in Santa Monica, California.* ***Claire West Orr*** *is a cofounder of People Assisting the Homeless (P.A.T.H.), in Los Angeles.*

William A. Galston
Venture Capital for Charter Schools

Suppose you believe in the continuing importance of public education but deplore the heavy hand of centralized school bureaucracy and reject the Progressive-era vision of "the one best system." What do you do? One answer is charter schools—described by education historian Diane Ravitch as "semi-autonomous, public entities that are freed from most bureaucratic rule and regulations by state and local authorities in return for a commitment to meet explicit performance goals."

Nineteen states now have laws authorizing charter schools, and hundreds have come into existence. Still, it's hard to get them launched; high start-up costs discourage all but the hardiest parents, teachers, and nonprofits. Here as elsewhere, lowering the barriers to entrepreneurship would pay rich dividends in the future.

I'd like to see private institutions emerge in every city to provide seed money, on a competitive basis, to local coalitions willing to plan and execute new kinds of public schools. The tax code should permit tax credits, up to a limit of (say) $100, for contributions to these institutions. Foundations would be important players. I wouldn't rule out public-sector contributions to these institutions—but only in the form of one-time endowments.

Seed capital from private institutions would help create innovative charter schools.
—William A. Galston

The fledgling Fund for New York City Public Education, while not exactly in this mold, illustrates the possibilities. Of an applicant pool of about 175 would-be educational innovators, according to the *New York Times*, "at least 10 will be awarded start-up grants of about $125,000 each, paid in installments over three years." Many others will get technical assistance. And dozens of new coalitions, catalyzed by the possibility of early assistance, may choose to proceed even without it.

While the debate over vouchers rages across the ideological battlefront, can't we come together around the modest but important goal of liberating entrepreneurial energy within the public-school sector?

William A. Galston *is a professor at the School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland at College Park.*

Michael Medved
A College for My Children

Inevitably, my most cherished dream involves my three children.

I'd like to believe that by the time they're ready for college (the oldest is now nine) there might be a college worth attending, without threatening their sanity and decency with the current mania for politically correct lies. There's simply not enough time for my kids to count on the sweeping changes that are desperately needed in virtually all the institutions of higher education in this country. But we do have a chance to capture (or even to create) *one* elite college or university as a haven and an example.

To accomplish this, traditionalists and conservatives must organize and pool their resources. Last year, when Yale University arrogantly returned a $20 million gift to Lee Bass because that donation would have required a focus on Western civilization as uniquely worthy of attention, I decided that my *alma mater* could henceforth do without my own modest contributions.

Instead, I would like to combine those resources with funds from thousands of other disillusioned university alumni who want to establish an alternative to the trendy, libertine, left-wing hegemony of the Ivy League. It's time that loyal graduates of Harvard and Stanford (not to mention Vassar and Amherst) woke up to the fact that their admirable and instinctive support for institutions that once nurtured them involves not only a tragic waste of money, but the continued endorsement of the most destructive

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forces in American life. Corporations must also recognize that their huge contributions to elite educational institutions are funding attitudes and activities that undermine the very survival of the free-enterprise system.

Those who dissent from the prevailing statist and relativist pieties should assemble their resources and use that power to steer one selected institution in a more positive direction. Maybe $20 million wasn't enough to influence Yale, but let's try raising the ante, and focus on a somewhat smaller target—say, for the sake of argument, Dartmouth or Williams (two gorgeous campuses!). It should be possible at least to install a new administration at an appropriate campus that would mobilize the forces of the market and offer a first-class conservative/moderate alternative to the prevailing folly. With 30 or 40 elite institutions hewing to an identical left-wing line, wouldn't one university, positioned self-consciously toward the right, enjoy an instant competitive advantage, attracting the finest students and faculty? And speaking of faculty, if corporations could be persuaded to endow chairs generously, think of the intellectual dream team that might be assembled under one academic roof. Perhaps one could lure away the brilliant fellows of Heritage (or AEI or Hoover or Cato) for a few years of inspired teaching. How about Bill Bennett as president? For key academic positions, you could choose Sowell, Stelzer, Bork, Wilson, Kristol (any Kristol), Himmelfarb, Steele, Gilder, Williams, Blankenhorn, Whitehead, Elshtain, Arkes, or any number of other intellectual luminaries. It's *my* dream, but you're more than welcome to play the game of filling in the blanks.

Traditionalists should pool their money for a new college to compete with elite liberal schools.
—Michael Medved

The remarkable achievements of little Hillsdale College—in remotest rural Michigan, with only 1,200 students and no graduate school—give some indication of the potential for this scheme. Under the inspired leadership of President George Roche, Hillsdale has pursued a courageous conservative path, refusing all government aid and exerting surprising national influence. It is also earning a constantly improving reputation for academic excellence. If no established "big name" campus can be successfully coopted, with priceless assets of atmospheric mystique and proud traditions (which are being trashed every day), then the resources accumulated for that purpose might well be pumped into the Michigan institution to enable it to step boldly into the academic major leagues.

Looking at higher education today, there's an obvious opportunity. It makes no market sense for every elite institution to target students and professors with the same liberal values.

By the same token, it makes no market sense for every TV network, or news division, or movie studio, to target precisely the same consumers of popular culture. There should be room for more wholesome, more conservative alternatives, and money to by made by offering them—but that's another dream. . . .

Michael Medved *is the chief film critic for the* New York Post, *and author of* Hollywood vs. America, What Happened to the Class of '65 *and other books. For the past 10 years, he has been a cohost of* Sneak Previews *on PBS-TV.*

Pete du Pont
Public-Private Job Training

If, as President Reagan said, "the best social program devised is a job," then those without jobs, or without the skills that employers demand, need some help to acquire those skills and join productive society. We need programs that work with the private sector to provide well-constructed and economical training in job skills. The best example of this that I know of is "Jobs for America's Graduates" (JAG).

JAG grew out of the successful "Jobs for Delaware's Graduates" (JDG), a program I created in 1979 while governor of Delaware. JDG, a nonprofit partnership charged with preparing, counseling, and placing high-school seniors in career jobs, was so successful that it spawned JAG for the purpose of spreading Delaware's success throughout the country.

Having helped 175,000 young people, JAG today is one of the largest organizations of its kind, and one of the most successful. Ninety percent of the at-risk young people enrolled in JAG graduate from school, and within nine months, the proportion that has found a job, enlisted in the military, or enrolled in post-secondary education or training is 80 percent—30 percentage points above the results for non-JAG youths with similar profiles. JAG achieves these results at a cost of just $1,200 per participant, less than one-third the average cost of similar programs around the nation. The taxes paid by the participants upon joining the workforce more than pay for the program.

JAG works because it is overseen by and

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responsible to the private sector, because its leaders are accountable for results, and because the young people themselves must meet the employability standards of businesses and take charge of their lives.

Supporting America's youth, reducing the cost of social programs, and protecting the future base of our taxpayers are good, sound, conservative principles. As we approach the 21st century, "Jobs for America's Graduates" puts these principles to work.

***Pete du Pont** is the policy chairman of the National Center for Policy Analysis and a former governor of Delaware.*

Betsy McCaughey Ross
Report Cards for Schools

Colin Powell went to public school in the Bronx. Like so many other Americans, he owes his start in life to that great institution, free public education. But today, not all schools give kids enough chance to succeed. At some public schools in the Bronx, textbooks are in such short supply that children have to share in class, and afterward the books are collected and sent down the hall to another waiting class. Are spending cuts to blame for the shortage? No.

From 1980 to 1993, for example, spending on New York City public schools increased 148 percent, even though the number of students increased only 3 percent. Even after taking inflation into account, New York City spent 37 percent more per pupil in 1993 than in 1980.

Spending on central administration grew almost five times as fast as spending for regular classroom teaching. Too much of our education funds went for bureaucrats, not books; administrators, not educators; red tape, not learning aids.

The problem is not merely citywide, it is statewide: From 1980 to 1993, school enrollment in New York declined by 9 percent, but spending shot up by 142 percent. School districts spent more and more and taxed local residents again and again. Yet many teachers have to reach into their own pockets to pay for classroom supplies.

The answer is not to spend more, but to spend more wisely. A school report card would help parents and taxpayers hold school boards accountable for how our scarce education dollars are spent and how well students perform. School boards should be required to publish one annually on every school under their purview, with figures on spending per pupil and students' performance on standardized tests. Parents and taxpayers have a right to know how their schools stack up and whether their education dollars are producing results.

School report cards should be a new addition to an important American institution—public school. Parents, taxpayers, and teachers need to hold school boards and elected officials accountable for spending, so that scarce education dollars are used wisely to give every child a chance in life.

***Betsy McCaughey Ross** is the lieutenant governor of New York.*

James R. Stoner Jr.
Faithful Professions

Writing of Americans in the early 19th century, Tocqueville observed not that they were great institution-builders nor that they were great organizers, but that they had mastered the "science of association," which he thought necessary to the maintenance of civil society itself. He chose the term "association" carefully, for it invokes not just the structure through which individuals act together, but also the very act of coming together and, for Tocqueville especially, the community of opinion and sentiment that collective action at once depends upon and helps to form.

I note this because for each of my "dreams," the need is clearer than the institutional or organizational means of addressing it. First, I think that achieving peace in our current culture wars depends on transcending the hostility toward religion that now seems entrenched in the secular professions: law, medicine, journalism, teaching. As a first step, perhaps like-minded individuals within the ranks of each profession would associate, dedicated to informing their professional activities with the witness of their religious faith. Whether or not such association begins among members of the same church or denomination—though the movement might be stronger if it does—it must become ecumenical, or federative, if it is to succeed.

My second hope is that society reestablish respect for the vocation of mothers and dissolve the pernicious, ubiquitous social pressure upon mothers to leave their children with someone else and go make money. Here the organizational means to the end seem even more elusive—a "Home Makers" on the model of "Promise Keep-

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ers" doesn't quite seem fitting—although the freedom of mothers to nourish and nurture requires fathers to resume their duty to provide and protect. These tasks involve in no small part recovering the wisdom once embedded in tradition now abandoned, and then bringing that wisdom to life in contemporary circumstances. In this, the current wave of institution-building differs from the Progressive urge to remake society in the then-clear light of modern science, but it also recalls in a way the task that faced Tocqueville's Americans as they marched across an untamed continent, bringing civilization as they knew it to a savage land.

James R. Stoner Jr. is an associate professor of political science at Louisiana State University.

James P. Pinkerton
Motor Trend for Schools

Twenty years from now, the failures of government-run schools will be so obvious that America will have either moved to a voucher system or else be in the process of doing so. Yet there are no final victories in politics, so friends of educational choice must work over the next 20 years to create a civic infrastructure to nurture this new design for freedom. All Americans—not just parents—ought to be able to trust that fraud in the educational marketplace will be punished, and that educational incompetence will be identified, so that parents can choose to take their children elsewhere. Yet because the workings of the invisible hand are so alien to education, voluntary nonprofit groups simply must be part of this process.

Inspired perhaps by Margaret Thatcher's prochoice reforms, the British government publishes "League Tables," which rate school performance nationwide. Such watchdogging can be useful, but the experience of "Goals 2000" in the past six years reminds American conservatives that politicians can abuse or even invert any assessment function left in their control.

So America circa 2016 will need a range of nongovernmental entities rating schools' performance by various criteria and publicizing their findings. For years, Americans have relied on *Consumer Reports* to help them evaluate everything from potholders to pickup trucks. And *Money* and *Motor Trend*, to name just two magazines, have both carved out commercial niches for themselves as guides to investments and automobiles, respectively. Yet because education will always be more than just a commodity, those who would lead America to a renaissance of citizenship should encourage religious, fraternal, and neighborhood groups—whether or not they themselves choose to participate in the voucher-driven education market—to issue their own report cards on school performance.

James P. Pinkerton is the author of What Comes Next: The End of Big Government—And the New Paradigm Ahead.

Myron E. Magnet
Group Homes for Welfare Moms

The best way to reform welfare, as I suggested in *The Dream and the Nightmare* in 1993 and in a series of articles since, requires the creation of a new institution—a national network of communal hostels, or group homes, for welfare mothers and their children. Such hostels would focus on the welfare of children, not the job prospects of young women. The hostels would provide structured, caring environments for nurturing citizens with consciences and the ability to learn. By the time today's underclass children are in Head Start, let alone school, it's very late to begin teaching the cognitive and moral categories that are learned in early childhood, that families normally teach, and that underclass children don't adequately acquire. Without mastery of these categories, it is hard to think, to apply yourself, and therefore to learn.

The hostels should have rules of conduct for the mothers who live there, to help them get control of their lives, but above all to ensure the order and structure children need. In the same vein, the hostels should require mothers to take daily workshops in child rearing to learn some of the basics that young underclass women often don't know: that babies cry because they have needs, not because they are "bad"; that children need to be talked to and responded to, not ignored and not hit, if they are to grow up able to function as members of society.

Hostels and group homes for welfare mothers must focus on the well-being of the children, not the job prospects of the parent.
—Myron E. Magnet

No doubt such a system will discourage many unmarried women unable to support babies from having them—a worthwhile result. No less important, the smaller number of babies born under such circumstances, despite all of society's

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discouragement, will get a fair chance to grow up happy and productive citizens. However sweeping this reform, it must be weighed against today's dreadful welfare system, which condemns millions of children to grow up with so much human talent unawakened, lost to themselves and to society.

Myron E. Magnet is the editor of City Journal, *the magazine of the Manhattan Institute.*

Walter E. Williams
A Religious Reawakening

Most of our nation's great problems stem from a decline in morality. A string of unbalanced federal budgets nearly four decades long reflects a moral failure to live within our means. A rapidly growing $5-trillion national debt evinces the immorality of one generation imposing an unpardonable burden on future generations to pay for what essentially amounts to bread and circuses. The pretense of the charity of the welfare state represents our immoral struggle to live at the expense of others. Part and parcel of this welfare state is the intergenerational extortion of the young and yet-to-be-born by older Americans through Social Security and Medicare. Then there is the politics of "entitlement" that has spawned unprecedented dependency.

Governments cannot patch up the public and private imprudence that scars the modern American landscape. The ameliorative action government can take is to eliminate those programs and laws that have undermined traditional values and morality. Just as language evolved intrinsically, without government direction or control, so did moral or ethical standards. Honesty, restraint, self-reliance, and social cooperation evolved as standards because they produced greater tranquillity and generated more wealth than their counterparts.

A moral reawakening will reduce the size and scope of problems we now call on government to solve.
—Walter E. Williams

Much of our moral code has religious roots. Government attack on religion, under the contrivance of adhering to the "Establishment Clause," has played an important role in the decline of morality. It is religious teachings that bolster the moral standards against lying, treachery, deceit, fornication, adultery, confiscation, and instant gratification. Religion promotes loyalty to family, friends, and community. Marxists and those in America who see the state as supreme find moral relativism far more friendly to their agenda than the absolutism of religion.

My dream of an American moral reawakening will reduce both the size and scope of problems we now call on government to solve. The problems that remain will be dealt with more compassionately through family, social organizations, and community as they were for most of our history.

Walter E. Williams is the John H. Olin Distinguished Professor of Economics at George Mason University.

Jason Turner
Work Requirements for Public Housing

My dream is that sometime soon, the billions of dollars invested in public-housing bricks and mortar will be transformed into the sites of regenerated central-city working neighborhoods. There is reason to believe we have the ability to bring about such a change. Right now, although not a desirable place to live for most families, public housing embodies a large public subsidy to each family who benefits from it, equal in many instances to the monthly AFDC cash grant itself.

But although the cash value of a public-housing subsidy makes it a boon of sorts, free or almost free housing fosters an attitude that one's apartment unit, and by extension the surrounding project, are not worth the effort of maintaining standards. Destructive behaviors by residents and those in the surrounding community reinforce and reflect this attitude.

I envision reforms to require work as a condition of living in public housing, either in the private sector or in a community-service job to improve one's housing site or perform other neighborhood building activities. In the welfare-reform field, we have discovered the power of universal work requirements and expectations. In the current environment, individuals improving their lives through work are isolated and demoralized by those in the larger dependent environment around them. But public-housing sites have the potential to create a *controlled physical space* where expectations of work are enforced. For the formerly idle, enforced work initially may not be pleasant, but at least everybody will find themselves in the same boat.

Beginning in March, residents of Milwaukee's largest public-housing project will receive welfare payments only in proportion to required work completed; over time, this work require-

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ment will be a condition of their lease as well. Fashioning work requirements to improve and build urban communities of the future will be our major challenge.

Jason Turner *is the director, welfare replacement, the Department of Health and Social Services for the state of Wisconsin.*

Heather Higgins
New TV Shows

First, I propose two television productions. One would be called *America's Legal Nightmares*, and would expose myriad real-life instances of citizens persecuted by the state—by the EPA, for example, or by Child Protection Services. The second, *American Stories*, is Michael Medved's companion idea; this program would celebrate individuals who have transcended personal hardships.

Second, before we can launch any systematic efforts to develop private charity, we must establish a reliable, independent referee of charities' effectiveness and reliability. The few organizations that track private charities lack the resources to follow any but the largest ones. When they evaluate a charity's finances, they must rely on its own accounting, for which the rules are notoriously lax and potentially misleading. We need to establish explicit financial reporting standards for 501(c)(3) public charities and fund organizations both to evaluate and rate them by the Marvin Olasky criteris of effective compassion, and disseminate these findings, perhaps on the Internet.

Heather Higgins *is the executive director of the Council on Culture and Community, in New York City.*

Paul Weyrich
A Revival Parallel to the Evangelicals

As Russell Kirk wrote, culture arises from the cult. Nonreligious people can be good people, as many a Stoic proved. But there never were very many Stoics. Human nature being what it is, most people need a religious foundation for their morals, if their morals are to be sound. Only the Transcendent has power enough to overcome their natural inclination to "do their own thing."

It follows that if America's culture is to be rescued from the sewer into which it has fallen, we need a revival of religion. In theory, a number of religions offer a sound moral basis; it should be no surprise that the Confucian cultures of East Asia believe we could learn some things from them. But it is difficult to envision Confucianism or another non-Christian religion suddenly sweeping America. For reasons of history, if a religious revival is to happen here, it will be Christian. The choice is that or nothing.

Such a revival has in fact been under way for some time, spearheaded by the Protestant Evangelicals. They have done fruitful work, and the fact that there is any resistance at all to the destroyers of our culture is largely their doing. However, much of the citizenry remains beyond their reach. For many reasons, these people are uncomfortable with either the Evangelical message or the Evangelical style. No one is at fault for this; it is a fact of life that people differ.

I dream of an effort parallel to the Protestant Evangelical revival, not in competition with it. Both would be aimed at the unchurched, not each other.

The new effort would be led by a real new order; a new religious order, similar to older orders such as the Benedictines, the Cistercians, and the like. It would be liturgical, apostolic, and sacramental, but it would not be part of any of the four churches with those characteristics (the Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholics, and orthodox remnants of the Anglicans and Scandinavian Lutherans). It would be supported by all of them, it would draw from all of them, and it would be recognized as legitimate by all of them.

But the key difference is that it would not require anyone to join any organization to partake of a liturgical and sacramental religious life led by clergy who were part of the apostolic succession. In our sad times, it is probably necessary to say that this new order would adhere rigorously to the creeds and the doctrines of the Church as laid down and universally accepted before the split of 1054 A.D. And it would preach and practice, within the limits of human frailty, traditional Christian morals.

It would dismiss with complete disinterest all the turf fights, jurisdictional squabbles, historic slights, and other ephemera that stand between the liturgical, apostolic, and sacramental church and people hungry for that church. It would thus bolster the sound elements, not only within our own culture, but in other nations as well.

Paul Weyrich *is the president of the Free Congress Foundation.*

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No More Home Alone

Essays by James Q. Wilson & Kathleen Sylvester call for an end to money for teen moms to live on their own

Sociologist James Q. Wilson proposes that unmarried, pregnant girls live in some type of supervised, privately run group home as a condition of receiving government benefits. This, he argues, would help provide the social structure that young single mothers and their children now lack, but desperately need if they are to escape the cycle of dependence. Kathleen Sylvester of the Progressive Policy Institute describes a version of this concept that was approved by Congress last fall as part of its welfare reform package. President Clinton vetoed the bill.

James Q. Wilson
Beginning with Our Children

The American political regime as envisioned by its founders was not supposed to have anything to do with character. It was supposed to enable people living in villages and towns to compose their differences at the national level in order to secure a more perfect union and ensure domestic tranquillity and justice.

It was assumed that it was in private associations (family, neighborhood, and peer groups) and small political institutions (village and town governments) that character could be formed, so the national government could take character for granted. "Men," Madison wrote, "are presumed to have sufficient virtue to constitute and maintain a free republic."

Today, by contrast, we are properly concerned with the issue of character, placed on the national agenda by both political parties. Why is it that the assumptions that influenced the men who gathered in Philadelphia in 1787 are no longer the assumptions we bring to the contemplation of the true purpose of our national polity?

One reason is that government has gotten bigger. As government gets bigger, it touches all aspects of our lives. As it touches all aspects of our lives, we increasingly put our concerns back on the government. The price of big government is an ever-expanding agenda.

Forty years ago, when I began studying politics, it was inconceivable that the federal government would ever be held responsible for crime, drug abuse, illegitimacy, welfare, civil rights, clean air, or clean water. Today it is responsible for all those things.

Not only have our aspirations and the size of the federal government changed, but so has our culture. In many spheres of our lives, we are no longer confident that local private institutions like families, churches, and neighborhoods are sufficient to form a culture that will sustain and enrich a free society.

One of the areas in which this concern has become most sharply focused is illegitimacy. An illegitimacy crisis that affects both blacks and whites has been growing without let up since the early 1960s. It has shaped the profound debate now unfolding in Washington about the relationship between federal welfare programs and the very formation and maintenance of families.

When Title IV, which created the program now known as Aid to Families with Dependent

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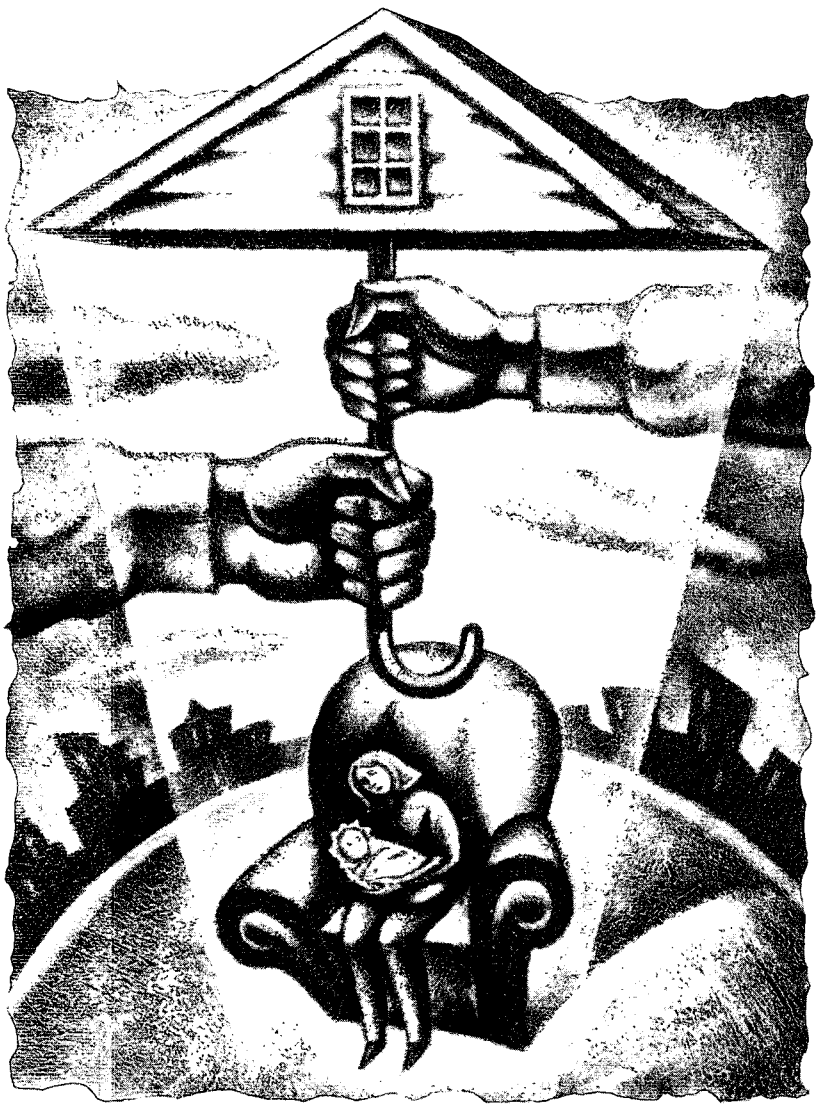

Illustration by Robert Johannsen

The welfare debate nearly ignores the fact that young girls living apart from other adults cannot expect to succeed in raising children alone.

Children (AFDC), was added to the Social Security Act of 1935, it was the least controversial part of that landmark legislation. For years after its enactment, it caused scarcely a national political ripple. The reason was that it gave federal support to a few state programs designed to provide short-term compensation to women who had been widowed due to the First World War or coal-mining disasters, or who had been divorced or deserted by husbands. It nationalized these programs by extending them to the other states.

No one expected it would become a way of life and no one ever expected teenagers would apply for it. All that has changed. Today, the typical new AFDC enrollee spends only two or three years on welfare and then moves on. It acts as a stopgap measure to provide for the needs of women and children during a particularly difficult time in their lives. This is the group for whom AFDC was originally intended.

But if you look at the total number of welfare recipients, as opposed to those who enter the roles in any given year, you notice that the typical recipient has been on welfare for 10 years. Increasingly, this has extended into second and third generations. Many come and leave quickly, but a few remain. And the number who remain now constitute the largest share of the whole.

There is a spirited debate about why this should be so. I think it is fair to say that no one can confidently claim to know the answer to this question. It is difficult to sustain the argument that the existence of welfare causes dependency if it did not do so during the first 30 years of its history. Evidence about the effect of state differences in welfare payments on rates of welfare participation is inconclusive.

There has probably been a profound cultural shift that has destigmatized illegitimacy and removed barriers that once inhibited people from remaining on AFDC for long periods of time. Even if we assume that the system of public payments did not cause this phenomenon, it certainly makes it possible. If the system did not exist, the current degree of dependency would not exist.

Even if you disagree with that assertion, the system has surely not cured its own defects. Rates of illegitimacy and single parenthood among black and white Americans have risen steadily since the early 1960s and that trend shows little sign of tapering off.

The harms associated with single parenthood and illegitimacy are now so well documented that the evidence need not be reviewed. But let me give you one example gathered by the government itself. A few years ago, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services selected more than 30,000 households across the country, designed to represent a statistical cross section. They interviewed the mother, father, or both about the welfare of their children. Except for the very highest income level, children raised in single-parent households are materially worse off, irrespective of race. They are worse off in terms of educational achievement, social well-being, aggressiveness, and difficulty with the law.

It should not take massive studies to establish

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this phenomenon. It is evident to many who confront life in hospital emergency rooms, police stations, juvenile courts, or welfare offices on a daily basis. The problem has crystallized in our concern about the unmarried teenage mother.

If you survey the history of families around the world, every culture has had teenage mothers. Indeed, what is striking today is how long many women wait before having children. But what was different in the past is that those girls gave birth as part of an embedded structure: with a husband, parents, grandmothers, aunts, uncles, and siblings. They were part of an extended family or a village in which there were many people who not only helped take care of the child, but taught the mother to be a mother and required that the father be a father. The debate I hear in Washington about reforming the current system is remarkably inattentive to the core fact that young girls living apart from other adults cannot expect much success at raising children alone.

Instead, the debate is posing questions such as: How do we save money on the welfare budget? How soon can we require recipients to work? How can we use modern technology to go after deadbeat dads? These may all be worthwhile concerns, but they should be viewed as subordinate to the central goal of saving the children whose lives are being destroyed as a consequence of growing up in this environment.

To solve this problem, we must ask all levels of government and the private sector to do something American government has never had to do before: constitute and support a viable alternative to the traditional family for the children and young women most at risk. One trembles even to utter the phrase "viable alternative," because in the Anglo-Saxon legal tradition, the king with all his legions stops at the threshold of the hut of the very poorest peasant.

We all understand that government cannot raise children. But there is something out there that is not working and government must change its allocation of incentives to give us a fighting chance of solving the problem. Let me suggest a strategy and then indicate how it might be implemented.

We must get young, unmarried, pregnant girls embedded in a social structure under adult supervision. This not only provides their children with a chance for a good start in life, but teaches them how to be a parent and protect themselves from the desperate conditions of gangs, drugs, and crime that often exist around them.

I therefore propose that if young, unmarried, pregnant women wish to establish an independent household at public expense, they should be given this support only on the condition that they live in some kind of family shelter or group home managed under private auspices, including religious groups. Part of the welfare reform debate currently raging in Washington focuses on the so-called Ashcroft Amendment, sponsored by Senator John Ashcroft of Missouri. The amendment states that nothing in the proposed welfare reform bill shall prevent religious groups from providing social services to welfare recipients on an equal basis with secular groups.

It is not clear what is meant by "services," or how funds would be transferred to these groups.

American government should support a viable alternative to the traditional family for the children and women most at risk.

But it is sending the message to young women that the character of the children they are raising is so important to this society that we insist they raise them in a truly adult setting provided by one of a variety of private organizations. And we will reinforce this by saying that your check cannot be cashed unless it is cosigned by the person who manages the program. You are free to choose the program—secular or religious—you wish to join. But we will not fund you to set up an independent household, given what we know about the harm it does to the children.

Up to this point I have said nothing about the other half of the equation—the men involved. The riskiest policy for a male observer is to act as if this were a problem created by women that could be solved by placing more constraints on women. But let me clarify a few points from the perspective of someone who has been researching the history of families and fatherhood around the world. Men and women differ in their willingness to make a commitment to the welfare of a child. This can be established by the simple fact that in any culture where there are single-parent families, more than 90 percent of them are headed by women. This cannot happen by accident. If it were simply a matter of cultural convention, you would find places where half or more of single parent families were headed by men. But you do not.

Men and women differ due to evolution, biology, and a variety of other factors. But since women care for children when men will not, much of civilization has been devoted to the problem of disciplining males. Society in all cultures has invented a few techniques to get males to play their role. When I was growing up, young unmarried women who got pregnant had a cou-

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ple of choices. They either went away to live with relatives, had the child, then returned while the relatives raised the child, or they told their fathers and brothers the identity of the father of the child. The father and brothers then told the boy, "Either you marry the girl or we will beat you to death." The other option for the boy was to run away and join the Navy.

None of those options seems to work anymore. The force of custom and shame is no longer as powerful as it once was. The law once played a role in forcing men to take responsibility by requiring that paternity be clarified. Women once played a role by denying sexual access to men unwilling to make a commitment.

If you want to summarize in hyperbolic terms what the core problem of character formation is today, it is that the only one of these forces that still operates is the woman's willingness to say "no." In place of law, we have no-fault divorce. In place of custom and shame, we have created a sense that everyone should "do his own thing." And fathers and brothers, far from beating up someone who has impregnated a daughter without marrying her, are themselves busy with other people's daughters.

Unfortunately, this leaves the burden on women. But women should not bear the burden alone; the state should be on their side. To the extent it can, it is desirable for the state to enforce the obligations of paternity.

This has proven to be extremely difficult. For several years, particularly since Congress passed the Family Support Act in 1988, programs have been in place to get states to devise ways of collecting child-support payments from absent fathers. Many states have vigorously pursued the fathers, but have not collected much money.

But again we are moving away from the core problem. The key is not to supply dollars, but to supply the father. It is his presence, not just his money, that has been lost. The average child raised by a mother only sees his father a few times a year.

The problem of reconstituting this character-forming institution cannot be solved by government. But I would suggest that just as we have formed and are encouraging charter schools, we should form and encourage "charter families"—private-sector groups that are willing to accept government money to provide long-term shelters for young girls who cannot or will not live with their own parents and who have children with no fathers to take care of them.

I have no idea whether this will work. But we must encourage this type of experimentation.

Money is going to flow from Washington to the states in the form of block grants. With some degree of restriction, states will have the opportunity to design and implement their own welfare programs. Most states will reproduce less expensive forms of the current system.

But I hope the states will use this opportunity to tear up the old script. Leave the existing system intact for women who need it as a bridge to get through death, desertion, or divorce, and will leave welfare in two or three years. But provide a radically different option, privately run and with a built-in social structure, for those young girls who are now raising the next generation of our children.

James Q. Wilson *is James Collins Professor of Management and Public Policy at UCLA and the author of* The Moral Sense. *He delivered these remarks in Boston on November 27, 1995, as the keynote address at the awards ceremony for the Pioneer Institute's annual Better Government Competition.*

Kathleen Sylvester
Sending a Moral Message

In 1863, President Lincoln signed a charter establishing a home for orphans and "unprotected females"—as unwed mothers were then known—just a few blocks from the White House on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Last September, during the Senate's contentious welfare-reform debate, there was a rare moment of bipartisan agreement as Senate Democrats were joined by Mr. Lincoln's party in nearly unanimous support of a similar institution: the "second-chance home." In an amendment later adopted by the House of Representatives, the U.S. Congress went on record in support of reviving an old institution—the maternity home—in a new form.

The Second-Chance Home amendment, offered by Democratic Senators Kent Conrad and Joseph Lieberman, would provide $150 million in seed money for states to support community-based residences for welfare mothers under 18. Young women whose own families are unstable would be required to live under adult supervision in these homes with their children as a condition of receiving welfare.

Many Democrats are ready to abandon the moral relativism of recent liberal social policy.

This provision was included in the welfare-reform bill vetoed by President Clinton. But the idea and its principles already are attracting

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broad support. States and communities are not waiting for federal funding. The "second-chance home" may become a new social institution. And even more importantly, it may offer a model for partnerships between government and communities that restore values to social programs.

One reason that second-chance homes are becoming popular is that they are practical. They are designed to deal with the realities of teen mothers' lives rather than the stereotype that they are simply promiscuous young women having babies to get welfare checks. Remember, these women have been badly nurtured. Many have been subjected to neglect or physical violence. Studies show that as many as two-thirds were victims of rape or sexual abuse at an early age—crimes often committed by males living in the same household. Many suffer from mental and emotional problems. They are easy prey for older men. The Alan Guttmacher Institute reports that almost two-thirds of teenage mothers' babies are fathered by men who are 20 or older.

Finally, the life prospects of teenage mothers are severely limited by their lack of socialization: They raise their children as their parents raised them; they model their social behavior after peers from the same neighborhoods. They have few role models for any other life.

For many of these young women, it will take a new home and a new family—a second-chance home. Communities as varied as Los Angeles, New Albany, Indiana, and Wheeling, West Virginia, are offering such homes. There are several hundred of them around the country, mostly privately funded. While the homes differ in strucure, they all offer three common elements that teen welfare mothers need to change their lives: socialization, nurturing and support, and structure and discipline.

Our nation's leaders must declare that it is wrong, not just foolish or impractical, for women and men to make babies they cannot support.

These homes offer a genuine social contract. The young mothers must help with household duties, stay in school or job training, and take good care of their children. They must stay drug free and abide by curfews. They learn to manage money and manage conflicts. In return, they get help with day care and health care and schoolwork. They get protection from violent family members and abusive boyfriends. Most importantly, the teen mothers receive the support of caring adults and lessons in everyday living.

The notion that government has a fundamental obligation to help these young mothers is one Democrats have long supported. But the idea these young women owe society a reciprocal obligation is one that some in the party have resisted. The welfare debate signaled a change: Many Democrats are ready to abandon the moral relativism that has characterized liberal social policy. While those on the party's far left still argue for an unfettered right to public support, a growing number of Democrats are willing to impose standards on welfare mothers, sending a powerful message that society no longer offers unconditional financial support for women who bear children out of wedlock. Senator Lieberman, in offering his amendment, called a system that supports the birth of children to young unwed mothers "profoundly troubling" and one that "does not reflect the best values of our country." Many Democrats, it seems, are ready to reassert the importance of values in social policy.

Republicans have traditionally been more comfortable talking about values, but less willing to acknowledge a basic government role in assuring the welfare of citizens in need. And to be sure, many conservative Republicans—those who would cut off public aid to teen mothers under 18—still take the callous and wrongheaded view that the fundamental goal of welfare reform is to punish illegitimacy.

But Democrats and Republicans in a number of states—including Massachusetts, Iowa, Maryland, and California—are working together to create second-chance homes. If these political leaders are wise, they will continue on their bipartisan path: They will support the Democrats' assertion of a fundamental role for government in social problems, and they will heed the Republicans' insistence on the importance of values.

Whose values? The values of communities. If second-chance homes are created as real "community-based" institutions, they will begin to remedy one of the unintended consequences of the New Deal. For when government assumed primary responsibility for poor families, communities were relieved of obligations to care for their own citizens, and the notion of social reciprocity disappeared. Government became a wedge between communities and individuals, providing each group excuses to ignore its obligations to the other.

Second-chance homes should not be "government-run" or purely government-funded. They should be run by community-based institutions, including churches and non-profit organizations. That is how the most effective homes for teen mothers are now run.

The Teen Parent Residence in Albuquerque, New Mexico, offers an example. The program,

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based in a cluster of low-income apartment units subsidized by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, costs the state just $67,500 for services to 14 teen mothers and their children for one year. The young mothers, who are enrolled in the federal Job Corps, use their welfare checks to pay below-market rent for the apartments they share. The state pays for an apartment in the cluster for the resident "house mother," for a night-duty nurse, and for some professional counseling services. Virtually everything else comes from the community.

The local health clinic teaches the young mothers about child development. The Agricultural Extension service teaches nutrition classes. Local youth groups offer baby-sitting services. Albuquerque's Hispano Chamber of Commerce not only donates money to the program, it hires the program's graduates. Families from local churches take the mothers and children home for Sunday dinner—and sometimes to Sunday services as well. The young women and children who live in the Teen Parent Residence have become part of the community.

It is possible, of course, to spend much more money on residential facilities for young mothers. In New York state, group homes staffed and run entirely by professionals cost more than $50,000 a year per mother and child. While this approach guarantees uniform standards, it also guarantees that the young mothers will live in isolation from their communities. These expensive, bureaucratic institutions reinforce the old paternalistic notion of the left that government can invent a program to solve every problem.

The Second-Chance Home legislation takes an important step away from bureaucratic rigidity by specifying that beneficiaries of federal programs can't be discriminated against if they live in these group homes. This means, for example, that young mothers won't lose their food-stamp benefits if they cook and eat together—something current food-stamp regulations prohibit. In practical terms, it means that a small community-based organization that wants to help four or five teen mothers won't have to apply for federal waivers so young women can keep their food-stamp income and use it to buy groceries for the home.

Now as welfare decisions shift to state policymakers, they, too, must resist urges to overregulate and micromanange. Governors and legislators deciding how to set policies for second-chance homes should use these principles for guidelines:

- Funding should be used as Congress intended—as seed money. It should go only to communities that pledge broad community involvement and a match of in-kind services.
- Churches and other religiously affiliated institutions have a long history of service to families; these organizations should be eligible for public funding to continue providing services.
- Evaluate them on what they accomplish. Judge the homes by the number of mothers who don't get pregnant a second time, the number who finish school, and the number who get off welfare. This would allow providers to help teen mothers by whatever means work.

Government's monopoly over social policy is quickly eroding. In response to this change, government must offer communities a new "bargain." Government must catalyze and support the efforts of communities. At the same time, government policy should be consistent with a declaration by our nation's civic, moral, and community leaders that it is wrong—not simply foolish or impractical—for women and men to make babies they cannot support. In this way, government can help reestablish the importance of values—those of communities and families—in social policy. That is the best way to define a social agenda for the next century.

St. Ann's, the institution that Lincoln chartered, still operates today just outside of Washington, D.C. And though the lives of its residents are vastly different from its first beneficiaries, they still meet Lincoln's definition of "unprotected females." They are still young women who need society's support to make decent lives for their children. Politicians of both parties who revere Lincoln should heed his wisdom.

Kathleen Sylvester *is the vice president for domestic policy at the Progressive Policy Institute.*

Congress Lends Its Support

Legislation approved by Congress last fall states that there will be "no assistance for teenage parents not living in adult-supervised settings." It stipulates that states receiving federal money "shall not use any part of the grant to provide assistance" if the mother and her child "do not reside in a place of residence maintained by a parent, legal guardian, or other adult relative of the individual."

If such settings are inappropriate, the legislation says, state agencies "shall provide, or assist the individual in locating a second-chance home, maternity home, or other appropriate adult-supervised supportive living arrangement." State welfare agencies "shall require that the individual and the minor child . . . reside in such living arrangements as a condition of the continued receipt of assistance under the State program."

The legislation defines a second-chance home as a "supportive and supervised" environment in which "individuals are required to learn parenting skills, including child development, family budgeting, health and nutrition, and other skills to promote their long-term economic independence and the well-being of their children."

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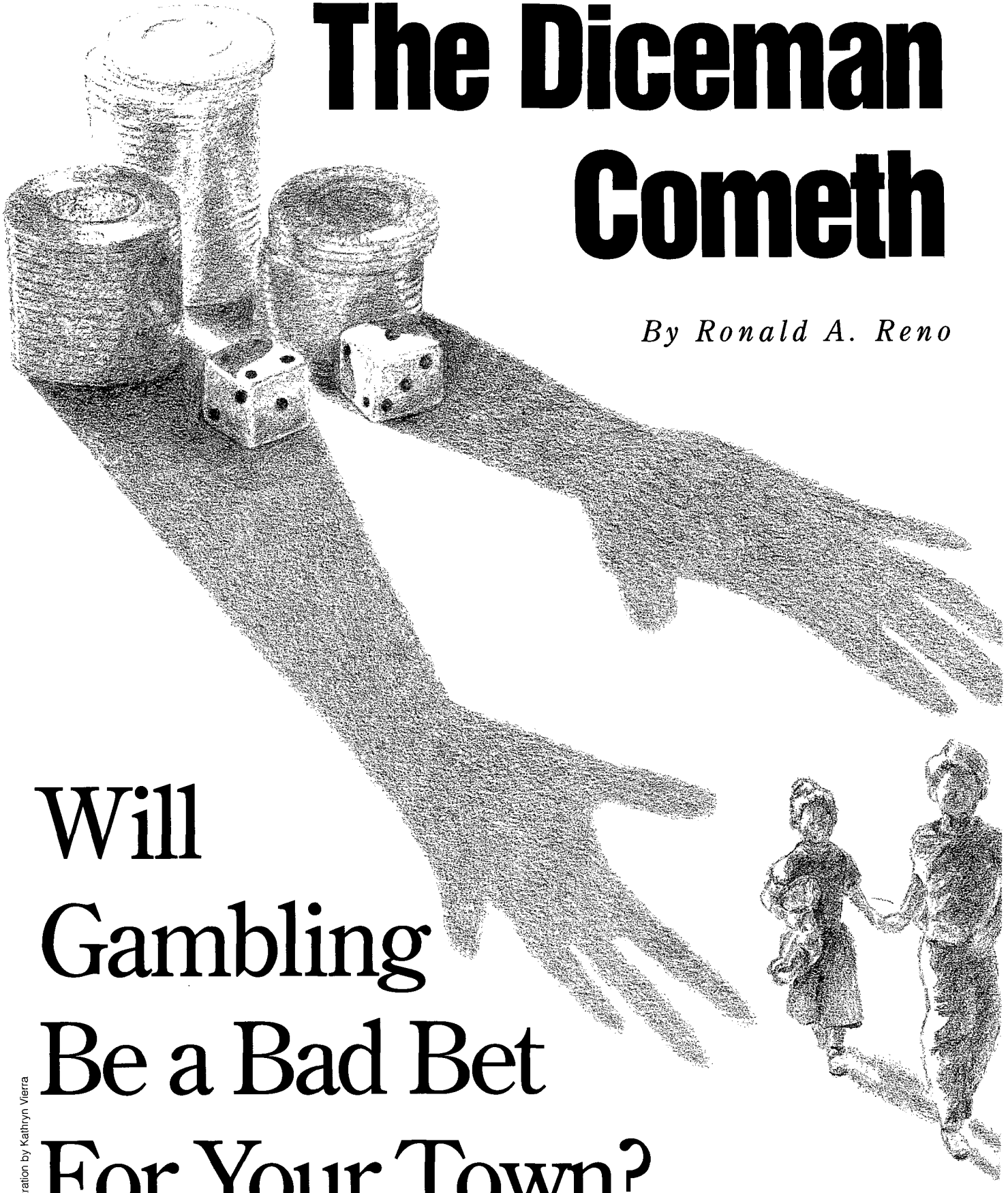
The Diceman Cometh

By Ronald A. Reno



Will Gambling Be a Bad Bet For Your Town?

Illustration by Kathryn Vierra

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From cash cow to Trojan horse: Gambling could rival drugs as the addiction of choice among teens.

Flush with a handful of money he had just won at a bowling tournament, Joe Koslowski invited some friends to celebrate with him at the nearby Atlantic City casinos. Joe, then 16, and all his buddies were allowed in despite the age limit of 21. Once inside, Joe's good fortune continued; he parlayed his bowling winnings into a couple of thousand dollars.

After his initial success, Joe returned to the casinos frequently. His winning streak eventually ended, but his taste for the thrill of gambling did not. Once out of cash, he opened credit accounts under family members' names, using cash advances from the credit cards to gamble.

The whole scheme finally came crashing in on Joe last year, after he had amassed $20,000 in debt. Now at age 20, Joe, who had no prior criminal record, is serving time in a Pennsylvania federal prison for credit-card fraud.

Joe is one of tens of thousands of young people who fall victim to America's gambling obsession every year. At least three-quarters of the nation's teens engage in some form of gambling. Much of it, of course, is fairly innocuous and occurs among peers: weekend poker games, betting on football, the annual NCAA basketball tournament pool. Adolescents have become increasingly adept, however, at gaining access to state-sanctioned gambling—lotteries, casinos, electronic poker—which often becomes a bridge to compulsive or addictive behavior. In 1995, University of Minnesota researchers reported that more than half of underage Minnesota teens surveyed had participated in some form of legalized gambling. An earlier survey of Atlantic City high-school students revealed that nearly two-thirds had gambled at the city's casinos.

It is becoming painfully apparent that the only jackpot awaiting many of these young people is a life out of control: More than a million adolescents are already addicted to gambling, according to Durand Jacobs, a clinical professor of psychiatry at Loma Linda University Medical School and an expert on youth gambling. Further, Jacobs says, the gambling addiction rate among teens is three times that among adults. In a recent review of major youth-gambling studies in North America, Howard Shaffer, director of the Center for Addiction Studies at Harvard Medical School, concluded that roughly one in six teens experiences gambling-related problems, while about 6 percent are actually addicted, or pathological, gamblers.

The New Jersey Council on Compulsive Gambling, which operates a national toll-free hotline (1-800-GAMBLER), reports that callers under 21 phoned the hotline 4,300 times in 1994, accounting for 11 percent of total calls. Ed Looney, the council's executive director, says many of these young people find themselves in desperate straits. He tells of a call regarding a 16-year-old who had slit his wrists after losing $6,000—four years of newspaper delivery earnings—on the lottery in a single day. He tells of the college student from the Midwest who dropped out of school because he lost his tuition money gambling; of the 19-year-old New Jersey

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youth who sold his car for a fraction of its value so he could get back into the casinos; of the numerous calls from kids too scared to go back to school because they can't pay back their bookies.

The phenomenon of youth gambling is not entirely new, but its rapid growth and startling magnitude is alarming. Says Valerie Lorenz, head of Baltimore's Center for Compulsive Gambling, "We never saw a teenage gambler 10 years ago. Now we see them regularly." Moreover, the most addictive forms of gambling—eagerly promoted by more and more state governments in search of tax revenue—can produce ripple effects in young lives that undermine families, communities, and civic order. As we move into the next century, Shaffer says, "We're going to have major issues with youth gambling that will equal or eclipse the problems that we have with substance abuse."

A Slippery Slope?

Experts draw a distinction between the "problem" gambler and the "pathological" gambler. According to Shaffer, pathological gamblers exhibit three basic characteristics: an inability to stop gambling despite massive losses, a sense of lost control, and a compulsion or craving to gamble. Problem gamblers can be affected in less severe ways, including difficulty concentrating, failure to fulfill family, school, or work obligations, general irritability, and sleeplessness. The two, however, are closely connected. Shaffer refers to problem gamblers as being "in transition," either moving toward or away from pathological gambling behaviors. Individuals may frequently move in and out of these designations. It is estimated that 1 to 3 percent of the adult population are pathological gamblers, but nearly twice that number are problem gamblers.

Probably 90 percent of the population can gamble "recreationally," but a significant minority cannot. Moreover, all forms of gambling can be addictive for teens, as well as adults, though they vary in their potency. The most addictive, such as electronic poker, contain the element of rapid "action" and occur in relative isolation, Shaffer says. Video gambling and slot machines are inherently more dangerous than bingo or the lottery. But the lottery frequently serves as a gateway to other gambling activities for teens. Once exposed to even a relatively benign form of gambling such as the lottery, many find themselves craving greater excitement. Studies bear this out: Participation in other forms of gambling is higher in those states that have lotteries.

Many problem and pathological gamblers—adolescents or adults—become debtors. Once they get in over their heads, teen gamblers follow the cue of their elders: They turn to crime. Jacobs contends that at least one in 10 juveniles has used illegal means such as stealing, shoplifting, selling drugs, or prostitution to obtain money to pay off gambling-related debts. A 1994 study of Massachusetts youth found that 5 percent had been arrested for gambling-related problems.

Despite the extent and impact of youth gam-

Crimeland

The gambling industry has launched a major offensive to try to convince Americans that they don't know what they know: Gambling breeds crime. The industry has hired a handful of law-enforcement officials and academics to assert that gambling is no more conducive to crime than Disney World. It's a Mickey Mouse argument.

Data from gambling communities points to an overwhelming link between legalized gambling and criminal activity. Three years after the arrival of casinos, Atlantic City rose from fiftieth to first in the nation among cities in per capita crime. Nevada continually ranks near the top in crime per capita.

The experiences of newer gambling communities mirror those of Nevada and Atlantic City.

Within five years of permitting limited stakes casinos in Deadwood, South Dakota, serious crimes jumped 93 percent. Mississippi's Gulf Coast welcomed casinos in August of 1992. After a year, bank robberies had increased from one to 13, and armed robberies tripled. In Ledyard, Connecticut, home of the nation's richest casino, rape, robbery, car theft, and larceny all increased more than 400 percent in the first three years after Foxwoods opened.

"The fact is in every city that casinos have been introduced in any significant way, crime in the streets has gone up, and there has been a marked rise," says Massachusetts attorney general Scott Harshbarger. Frank J. Kelley, Michigan's attorney general for more than 30 years, told the International Conference on Gambling in 1994 that "there has never been an issue that has disturbed me any more than the proliferation of gambling in our state."

Last October, Maryland Attorney General J. Joseph Curran Jr., issued a notable report on the gambling-crime link. Curran concluded: "[C]asinos would bring a *substantial* increase in crime to our State. There would be more violent crime, more crimes against property, more insurance fraud, more white collar crime, more juvenile crime, more drug and alcohol-related crime, more domestic violence and child abuse, and more organized crime."

The gambling industry insists that the crime link is solely a factor of more people visiting these communities. The testimony of the law-enforcement community, gambling's demonstrated ties to organized crime, and the millions of gambling addicts who become criminals as a result of their addictions attest otherwise. One might say the gambling industry's denial of these facts is just plain Goofy.

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bling, Jacobs says, the level of public awareness is "absolutely abysmal." A few recent high-profile press reports, along with a meeting last spring of the North American Think Tank on Youth Gambling Issues at Harvard, have begun to bring the issue to the public's attention. Teens themselves remain largely unaware of the dangers associated with gambling. Shaffer found that only one-quarter of Massachusetts youth surveyed rated gambling as potentially dangerous, compared with 60 percent or more who perceived the dangers in alcohol, tobacco, and drugs.

Gambling in all its forms is proving to be nearly irresistible to a rising generation that frequently tells pollsters of its apprehensions about a bleak economic outlook. Traditional forms of gambling such as church bingo have generally been able to restrain compulsive betting. Government promotion of gambling, including the $350 million states spend advertising the lottery, has been more pernicious. It communicates to young people the subtly destructive notion that the work ethic is passé, that all they need is "a dollar and a dream," as one lottery advertisement puts it. Perhaps that's why an average of 200,000 minors have been turned away from Atlantic City casinos every year for the past decade, according to figures from the New Jersey Casino Control Commission. Another 24,000 underage gamblers are escorted from the casino floor annually. Many more gamble in the casinos undetected. Ironically, many state lotteries are pitched to the electorate as a honey pot for public education.

"By sending young people the message that they need to gamble to get ahead," Shaffer says, "we're telling them not to study calculus, not to study science, and we shouldn't be surprised that America is now falling behind other cultures in terms of intellectual pursuits."

A National Compulsion

If young people follow the lead of the adult gambling culture around them, they'll squander much more than their intellectual energy. Americans will legally wager more money this year than they will spend on groceries—some $500 billion. That number represents a 3,000 percent increase since 1976. Utah and Hawaii are the only states that prohibit all forms of gambling, though Hawaii is considering casinos. Casinos are now legal in about half the states and constitute nearly half of total gambling revenues, which are growing at the rate of 15 percent annually.

"America is on a gambling binge," says Congressman Frank Wolf, who is pushing legislation to establish a national commission to study the effects of legalized gambling. The growth will undoubtedly continue, at least in the short run, as state and local governments scramble for an even bigger slice of the gambling revenue pie. In 1994, governments received $1.4 billion from casinos alone. Lotteries contributed another $10 billion to state coffers. That same year, revenue-hungry state legislatures considered more than 1,600 gambling-related bills.

Unfortunately, government's addiction to gambling has been transmitted to the public. Nationwide, it is estimated that about 10 million Americans have a gambling habit that is out of control. A recent surge in the number of problem and pathological gamblers is strongly correlated with the explosion of legalized gambling opportunities. An unlikely source for a case study is Iowa. A 1989 survey indicated that 1.7 percent of Iowa residents were problem or pathological gamblers. Shortly thereafter the state added riverboat casinos and casinos on Indian lands and also expanded parimutuel wagering. A subsequent survey last year showed the percentage of Iowans with a serious gambling problem had ballooned to 5.4 percent. An additional 78,000 Iowa adults had become hooked on gambling in that six-year period.

It is becoming painfully apparent that the only jackpot awaiting many young gamblers is a life out of control.

The Iowa study is consistent with other findings. John Kindt, a professor of commerce and legal policy at the University of Illinois, says that when gambling activities are legalized and made accessible to new jurisdictions, increases in the numbers of addicted gamblers range between 100 and 550 percent. These newly created addicts are turning in overwhelming numbers for help—help that the mental-health community is ill-equipped to supply. According to the National Council on Problem Gambling, there are fewer than a hundred treatment programs nationwide for pathological gamblers, as compared with some 13,000 such programs for alcoholism and other substance-abuse problems. Tens of thousands are seeking help through local Gamblers Anonymous groups; GA has added four hundred new chapters in the United States in the last five years.

Testifying before the House Judiciary Committee last September, American Gaming Association (AGA) president Frank Fahrenkopf Jr. claimed that the gambling industry is making substantial efforts to address the problem. So far,

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however, little has been done. "The casino industry is heavily dependent on the revenues of psychologically sick people," says Earl Grinols, an economist at the University of Illinois, who calculates that more than half of a casino's take comes from problem and pathological gamblers. University of Minnesota researchers found that a mere 2 percent of gamblers in that state accounted for nearly two-thirds of all money spent on the state's casinos, charitable pulltab games, lottery, and the like.

Experts warn that the number of gambling addicts has yet to crest. In fact, Jacobs predicts that it will be the nation's fastest-growing addictive behavior. In addition to greater availability of traditional gambling venues, the emergence of hi-tech video gambling machines, gambling on the Internet, and interactive telephone and television gambling will undoubtedly contribute to the problem. These addictions will come with enormous social and economic price tags, as social scientists and researchers—and millions of families—have already discovered.

Gambling with the Family

In August 1993, Mike and Sharon James (not their real names) and their two preschool children left a successful business in East Liverpool, Ohio, for promising job prospects in Charleston, S.C. The couple had been in Charleston one month when Sharon received an overdrawn notice from the bank. Puzzled, she contacted the bank to clear up the "error"; the couple had several thousand dollars in their checking account set aside for a down payment on a house.

Children of compulsive gamblers have a greater propensity for substance abuse, low grades, delinquency, and poor mental health.

Sharon discovered that her husband of 10 years had made several withdrawals in recent weeks, many in the neighborhood of $1,000. When she questioned Mike, she learned that he had spent the money on South Carolina's ubiquitous video poker machines. Despite Sharon's pleas and attempts at treatment, Mike couldn't kick the habit. He squandered the family's remaining savings, hocked many of their possessions, even cashed in the children's savings bonds, and left the family $20,000 in debt. Finally, Sharon filed for divorce. Mike wound up in the county jail for delinquency in child-support payments and for writing bad checks.

"This man was a wonderful person, a very caring father," says Sharon. "I really believe he didn't realize what he was doing, because he was never like that before. This addiction just grabs you and twists you. It destroyed him and us."

Similar stories abound in gambling communities across the nation. Yet the scope of the problem is tragically underestimated, largely because so little research has been undertaken regarding gambling's impact on the family. The meager available data comes primarily from surveys of small groups of compulsive gamblers seeking treatment.

Last year the Illinois Council on Compulsive Gambling surveyed nearly 200 Gamblers Anonymous members and found that 16 percent were divorced due to their gambling addictions; another 10 percent had separated as a result. In an earlier study of spouses of compulsive gamblers, Valerie Lorenz discovered that 78 percent had threatened separation or divorce, and half had carried through on their threats. Jacobs surveyed 850 high-school students in Southern California and found that children of compulsive gamblers were almost twice as likely to experience the trauma of a broken home.

In Harrison County, Mississippi, the hub of the state's casino industry, the number of divorces rose from 440 in 1992 to nearly 1,100 in 1993, the first full year after casinos. Judge William L. Stewart, who has served on chancery court along Mississippi's Gulf Coast for 17 years, says he knows gambling to be a factor in about a third of the divorce cases he now oversees. "Other than the general decline of morality in society, I don't believe there has been a single factor [affecting divorce rates] like this. It's just not a normal thing. This thing is huge. It has a tremendous effect on a community."

Spousal and child abuse and neglect are other problems attendant to gambling addictions, as reports from social-service agencies in gambling communities consistently attest. The Gulf Coast Women's Center in Biloxi, Mississippi, has averaged 400 additional crisis calls per month since the advent of casinos there. Central City, Colorado, reported a six-fold rise in child protection cases in the year after casinos arrived. Jeffrey Bloomberg, former state's attorney for the Deadwood, South Dakota area, cited a similar increase in his September 1994 congressional testimony, and described how children were being left in cars all night while their parents gambled. Earl Grinols points out that Nevada led the nation in deaths of children attributable to abuse from 1979 to 1988, a period when casino gambling was illegal everywhere else except in Atlantic City.

Children of compulsive gamblers also suffer in other ways. Jacobs found that such youth have

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a greater propensity for substance abuse, lower academic achievement, juvenile delinquency, and poorer mental health. They are also far more likely to develop gambling addictions themselves.

Compulsive gamblers are at much greater risk for other harmful behaviors. According to Henry Lesieur, about half of compulsive gamblers experience problems with alcohol and substance abuse. Lesieur also notes that compulsive gamblers are five to 10 times more likely to attempt suicide than is the general population. The National Council on Problem Gambling states that 20 percent of compulsive gamblers attempt suicide. Many succeed. A 19-year-old Iowa college student, a St. Louis-area housewife and church volunteer, and an Illinois businessman are a few of the recent self-inflicted casualties that have received press attention, but hundreds of others go relatively unnoticed year after year. Nevada has the highest suicide rate in the nation. In Gulfport, Mississippi, attempted suicides rose more than 200 percent in the first two years of casinos, while suicide attempts soared from six to 66 in nearby Biloxi in the first year alone. Family members of compulsive gamblers are also at greatly increased risk for suicide, according to Lesieur.

Showdown in River City

Over the last decade the gambling industry has done a phenomenal job of selling itself as an economic elixir to communities strapped for revenue. Inflated promises of jobs, tourism, and additional tax monies have seduced politicians and citizens in dozens of states and communities. The numbers, however, are beginning to catch up with the gambling forces. As Americans become more aware of the societal devastation wrought by legalized gambling, the industry is finding it increasingly difficult, and ever more expensive, to peddle its wares. In recent elections, gambling interests have outspent opponents by margins of 10, 20, even 50 to one, and are still losing far more often than not.

Jefferson City, Missouri, which voted for casino riverboats in 1992, voted them out last November. Fledgling efforts are underway in Louisiana, Wisconsin, and elsewhere to repeal legalized gambling. Even the industry's own polls show that gambling's acceptance appears to be waning.

The issue, however, is far from decided. Gambling interests have targeted several key states again this year—California, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Texas, among others—for expansion. In New York, the gambling lobby last year helped introduce a form of keno called "Quick Draw." It puts casino-style gambling right in front of teens, appearing in bowling alleys, supermarkets, and even candy shops to lure kids into shooting high-tech craps. If these and other efforts are successful, it will be a sure bet that millions more Americans—many of them children—will slip into addiction, and the destitution and darkness that go with it.

Ronald A. Reno is a research associate in the public-policy division of Focus on the Family, based in Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Cashiering Casinos

Despite shoestring budgets, grass-roots groups in dozens of states are doing a surprisingly effective job of stalling the gambling juggernaut:

- Mirage Casinos finally cut its losses at more than $10 million and left Bridgeport, Connecticut, late last year after failing in its four-year push to construct the nation's largest casino. With support from the media and the governor, and a non-stop public-relations barrage, the casino deal looked like a sure thing. But the dogged persistence of various anti-gambling groups prevailed.
- Pennsylvanians Against Gambling Expansion (PAGE) has employed a two-pronged strategy to thwart riverboat casinos. PAGE gathered about 44,000 petition signatures, which it presented to the governor at a widely publicized press conference. PAGE has been working behind the scenes with key legislators, from both the Democratic and Republican parties, to keep gambling bills from reaching a vote.
- Eleven different casino companies hired lobbyists last year in hopes of squeezing casinos into Maryland. They had planned to close the deal by this spring. Maryland's No Casino group derailed the plan largely via a series of anti-casino rallies held around the state last fall. Gambling lobbyists have now forsaken their attempts to get casinos in Maryland.
- Last November, voters in Washington state trounced Initiative 651, which would have allowed unrestricted gambling on Indian lands.
- Fifty gambling lobbyists descended on Virginia last year to push for riverboat casinos. Virginians Deserve Better blunted their efforts by joining with dozens of minority pastors in targeted areas of southern Virginia.
- Florida's No Casinos is preparing to repel the gambling industry's fourth casino initiative, expected this fall. No Casinos has built a broad coalition including liberal and conservative religious groups, law-enforcement officials, business and political leaders, and tourism interests.

The Rev. Tom Grey, coordinator for the National Coalition Against Legalized Gambling, says state-based affiliates prevailed—via referendum, the legislature, or the courts—in 21 of 23 contests over the last couple of years. *For more information about NCALG or about anti-gambling efforts in your area, call 1-800-664-2680, or write NCALG, 2376 Lakeside Drive, Birmingham, Ala. 35244.*

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An exclusive excerpt from

The Right Replace

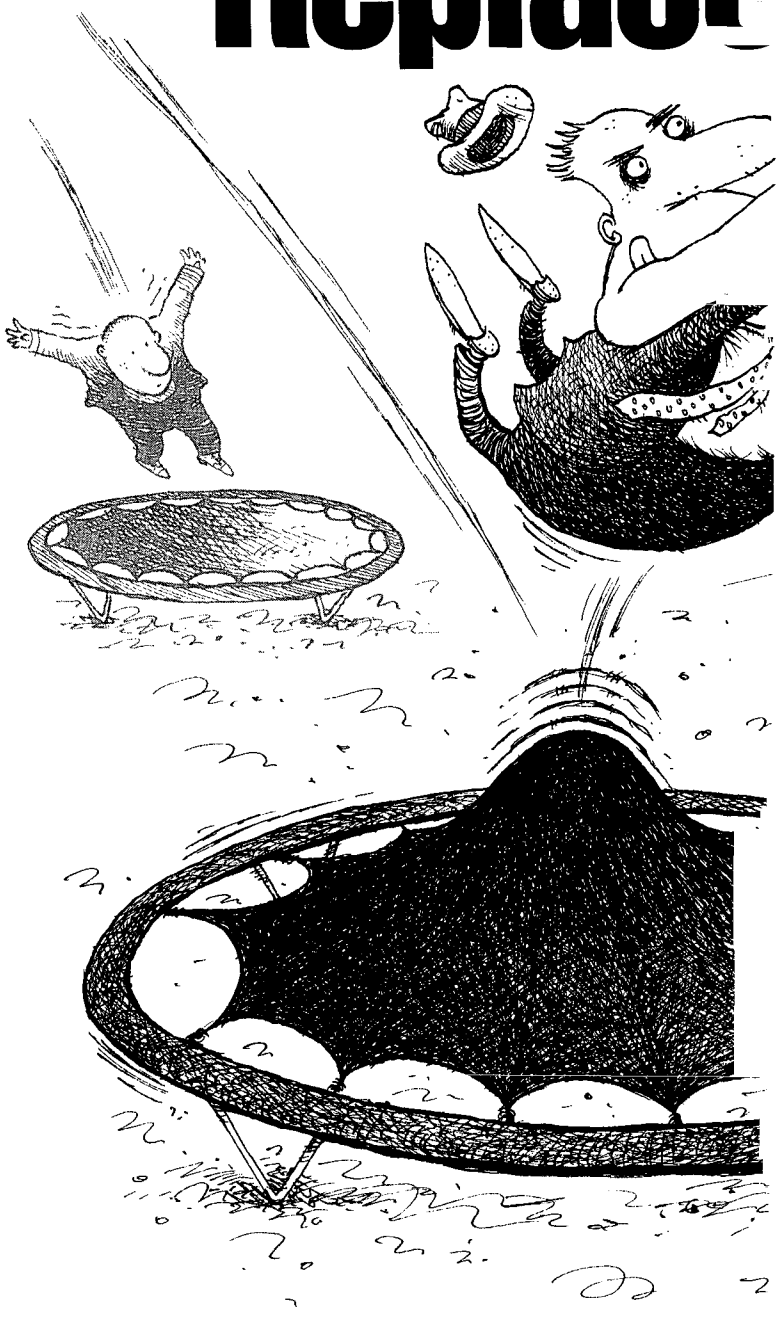
Over the past few decades, government welfare programs have been designed to lift the burden of caring for the poor from ordinary people, by allowing them to write a check to pay the professionals who would solve problems. It is time for government to reassert a healthy pressure on the American people: Congress should phase out federal-assistance programs and push states to develop ways for individuals and community-based groups to take over poverty-fighting responsibility.

Our predecessors understood the Constitution's charge to *provide* for the common defense but to *promote* the general welfare—by ensuring an environment within which individual and community action could flourish. When, for example, Congress in 1854 passed a bill for federal construction and maintenance of mental hospitals, President Franklin Pierce vetoed the bill. "Should this bill become law, that Congress is to make provision for such objects, the foundations of charity will be dried up at home," he said.

Pierce's veto was sustained. His concern about "dried up" charity was typical of the era: Municipal aid to the poor could dry up private charity; state relief could dry up city aid; federal programs could dry up state efforts. Hardly the way to promote the general welfare.

But the mood of that era—not to mention the Constitutional vision for addressing social needs—has been lost. The concept of the modern welfare state placed responsibility for fighting poverty not at the lowest level but the highest. National entitlement programs came to dominate the social-services scene. The reversal of Pierce's doctrine was so complete that even conservatives in the 1980s, who favored reducing the growth of welfare programs, still talked of the importance of maintaining a federal safety net. They did not understand that the federal safety net was not only inefficient, but conceptually mistaken.

What? Criticize the safety net itself? Yes. When I took my children to the circus recently, I realized how infrequently the Ringling Brothers safety net is used. For an acrobat, a fall to the safety net is a failure; if he falls stunt after stunt, he will be fired.



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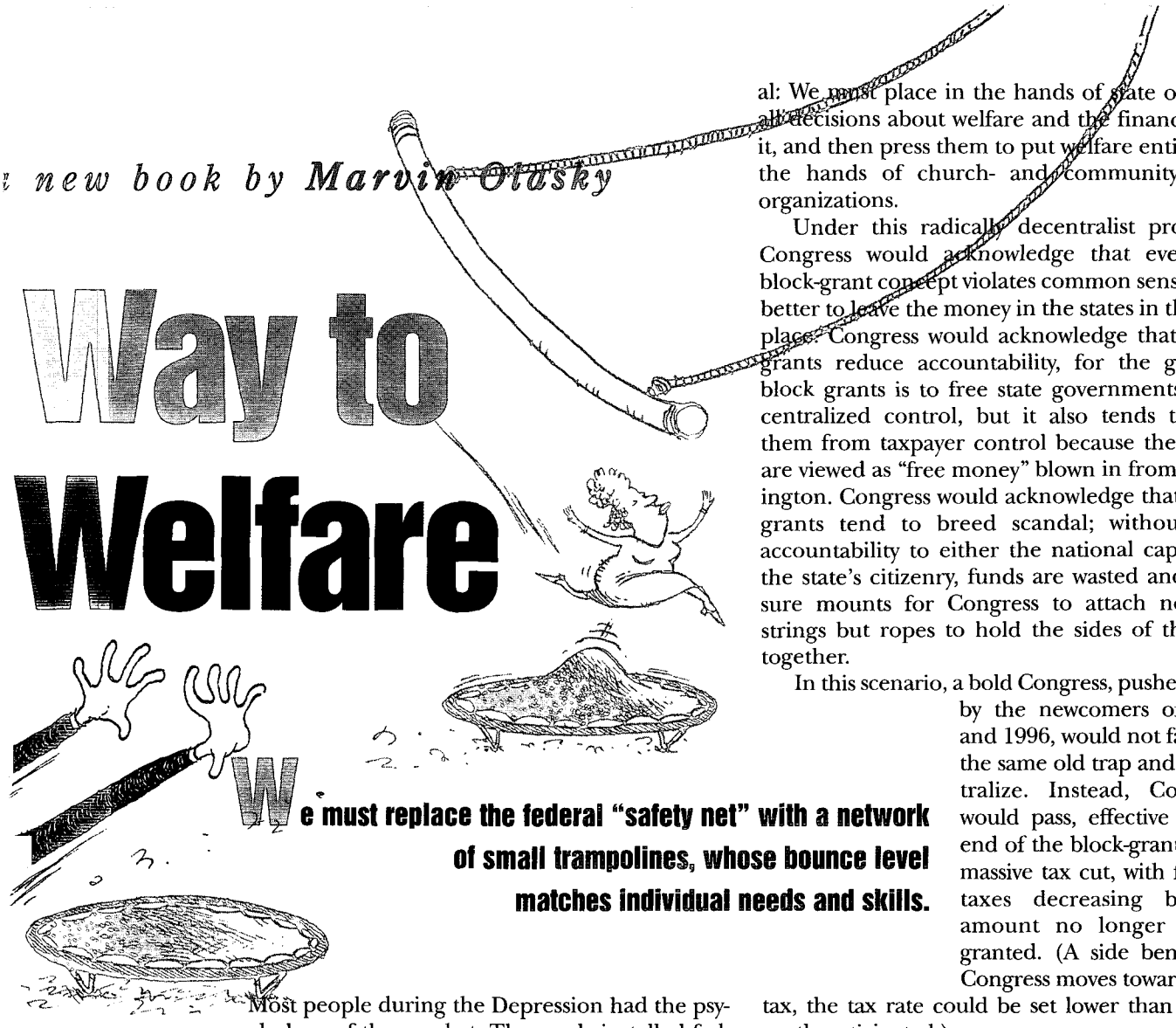
a new book by Marvin Olasky

Way to Welfare



We must replace the federal "safety net" with a network of small trampolines, whose bounce level matches individual needs and skills.

Most people during the Depression had the psychology of the acrobat: The newly installed federal safety net was to be used only when the choice was between it and a hole in the ground. But over time, as attitudes softened and welfare programs expanded, that desire to avoid using the safety net was often lost. The destigmatizing of welfare in the 1960s meant that the acrobats no longer needed to strain for those extra inches, because the audience would still applaud even if they fell into the safety net every time.

What America needs is not a safety net but a vast variety of small trampolines, suited to individual needs, movable so as to be present for individual crises, and providing a level of bounce fitted to the skill level and psychology of the individuals they are designed to save. Government's role under such a plan is clear: Get rid of constraints on the construction and movement of trampolines, and—if it does not appear that enough trampolines will be produced—provided incentives to get more. In that way, government can promote the general welfare.

What would this mean in terms of practical policy? Nothing short of a revolutionary proposal: We must place in the hands of state officials all decisions about welfare and the financing of it, and then press them to put welfare entirely in the hands of church- and community-based organizations.

Under this radically decentralist proposal, Congress would acknowledge that even the block-grant concept violates common sense—far better to leave the money in the states in the first place. Congress would acknowledge that block grants reduce accountability, for the goal of block grants is to free state governments from centralized control, but it also tends to free them from taxpayer control because the funds are viewed as "free money" blown in from Washington. Congress would acknowledge that block grants tend to breed scandal; without real accountability to either the national capital or the state's citizenry, funds are wasted and pressure mounts for Congress to attach not just strings but ropes to hold the sides of the box together.

In this scenario, a bold Congress, pushed hard by the newcomers of 1994 and 1996, would not fall into the same old trap and recentralize. Instead, Congress would pass, effective at the end of the block-grant era, a massive tax cut, with federal taxes decreasing by the amount no longer block-granted. (A side benefit: If Congress moves toward a flat tax, the tax rate could be set lower than is currently anticipated.)

States would then use their own taxing authorities to implement new programs, or duplicate the old ones if they choose to do so. If a new Congress were to make that decision in 1997, states would have four years to plan for the post-federal welfare era. They could tax residents adequate amounts to care for the poor, but provide incentives for citizens to contribute sizable amounts of time or money to local poverty-fighting charities by providing exemptions to the new tax.

It is not as if a dollar-for-dollar replacement for the $350 billion annual cost (in 1994) of federal and state welfare spending (70 percent of it coming from Washington) is necessary: We know that much money is wasted and worse than wasted, actually causes harm. Yet, if more trampolines are needed, we should not be opposed theoretically to governments, once they have worked to reduce barriers, also working to promote the general welfare.

The best way for legislatures to do this would be to offer the average taxpayer a deal as follows:

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"Come the year 2001, under the Welfare Replacement Act of 1997, your federal tax burden will be reduced by an average of $3,000. We certainly do not want to be accused of being cruel or mean-spirited, so we will raise state taxes by an average of $2,500. However, we also want to promote personal involvement with community-based organizations that offer effective compassion to the poor, and if you provide to such an organization a combination of money and time totaling at least $3,000—thus leaving the quantity of societal commitment to the poor unchanged—you will be exempt from the new tax."

This would obviously represent a sweeping change from the current system. Now, taxpayers who itemize can deduct from their taxable income the contributions they make to a wide range of religious, charitable, and educational organizations, at their marginal tax rate (the lowest is 15 percent, the highest is 39.6 percent). This is helpful, but not good enough, and movement toward a flat tax might eliminate that deduction anyway. Under the new system proposed here, states would push taxpayers in a massive way to become involved with groups that provide direct social services to the poor, and offer exemption from taxation for such purposes to those who were helping others in their own way.

At least 11 critical questions about such a revolutionary departure from current practice immediately arise:

Q: ***What percentage of taxpayers would choose to support local charities and thereby gain exemption?*** That is very difficult to predict, but with four years of preparation it is likely that many would, resulting in a tremendous boost to nonprofit finances and a large increase of citizen involvement. Those who did not become involved would pay the new tax, and states could use that fund to pay for any missing trampolines.

Q: ***Would church-based and community-based organizations be ready to expand or replicate themselves in order to make use of their new resources in a new century?*** They would have time to prepare, and the encouragement of a new system would blow away the "compassion fatigue" that has built up over the years.

Q: ***Would acceptance of exemption-creating contributions force poverty-fighting charities to accept governmental control?*** At the moment, charitable organizations that seek government grants come under government oversight; some church-related programs have gained financially but lost their souls in the process. Even nonreligious charities accepting public funds have been forced to treat all of their clients bureaucratically, within the parameters set by law and regulation, rather than dealing with each human being on an individual basis.

The advent of "new tax" exemptions would not automatically free up religious groups and other community-based institutions to participate as equals in the social services sector. Despite precedents set by the GI Bill and other programs that allowed consumer choice, the ACLU would not be amused by the removal of secular liberalism from its established, privileged place.

Still, the offer of an exemption (signifying a right not to pay because of other services rendered) is as clear a hands-off statement as a legislature can make. Exemptions offer a greater degree of protection than deductions, credits, or especially vouchers, since the latter requires government not only to overlook revenue but to send out checks. A political coalition strong enough to obtain tax exemptions should be strong enough to keep them from being abused by antireligious zealots.

Families would receive a $2,500 tax exemption if they contributed $3,000 in time and money to charities that help the poor.

Q: ***Wouldn't some exemptions from taxation go for funds sent to phony, needless, or simply ineffective projects? Wouldn't these cases be cited by partisans of the welfare state as reasons for opposing the exemption system?*** Certainly, and those cases would make an impact on people who are startled to find that some among their fellow human beings are foolish, incompetent, or gullible.

Markets work not because everyone exercises perfect judgment, but because, on balance, most people make good judgments most of the time. Even with all the anticipated human error, a charitable sector in which the funds are allocated by individual private decisions is likely to be less wasteful than the current system. Besides, with more resources at stake, more careful analysis of charitable effectiveness is likely to become common. Publications that examine charities the way a *Consumer Reports* examines products would emerge.

Q: ***Wouldn't acceptance of volunteer time as part of the exemption-creating contribution open the door to fraud?*** It is true that proof regarding the giving of money tends to be clearer than that concern-

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ing time, the valuation of which can be complicated. Still, emphasis on the crucial meaning of compassion—suffering with—is vital, and a plan that provides incentives for contribution of money but not time is incomplete.

Many groups already keep records of volunteer hours, so bookkeeping would not be an insurmountable problem. Corruption could be kept to a minimum by keeping the general credit for exemption purposes at the level of the minimum wage—enough to provide a bit of compensation for work time lost and to signify societal commitment to compassionate action, but not enough to promote widespread cheating.

Q: ***What would happen to health care for the poor?*** Medicaid is the single biggest element of current federal and state welfare expense; of the $324 billion that federal and state agencies spent on welfare in 1993, $132 billion went for that one program. And yet, many cities have free or sharply-reduced-price clinics where some dedicated doctors and nurses volunteer their time. What can governments do to help such organizations?

In Jackson, Mississippi, the Voice of Calvary Family Health Center sees about 8,000 patients each year, and would like to expand its operations or start other clinics like it. Center director Lee Harper contrasts her clinic with higher-budgeted state operations and concludes, "When you have more money, you tend to waste more." Still, she needs more funds. Job one, however, is getting more hours from volunteer doctors, dentists, and nurses. "If we get the health professionals, we'll get the money."

Such an urgent need translates into a specific proposal that could be implemented at the federal level in lieu of all the macro-reform proposals of the 1990s: Give medical professionals tax credits for hours regularly worked at clinics. If a typical doctor, dentist, or nurse worked one day every two weeks at a clinic or in a similar way spent time to provide health care to poor individuals, billions of dollars in medical expenses could be saved. Participating health personnel, in return, could receive a tax credit equivalent to 10 percent of their salaries. Such a credit could be the cornerstone of the personal alternative to bureaucratic health-care plans that are rightly regarded with skepticism.

Q: ***Why substitute a state tax (with exemptions) for a federal one? Why not simply reduce taxes and allow individuals to spend the money as they see fit?*** Advocates of individual rather than governmental responsibility have the personal emphasis right, but will a reliance merely on individual goodwill and effort lead to the production of enough trampolines? For those who emphasize original sin rather than natural goodness, there is a middle ground between government and individual: Call it societal responsibility, within which government requires payment but leaves to the individual taxpayer how the money shall be spent.

Q: ***Will it be possible to restrict tax-exempting contributions to those organizations that are actually engaged in fighting poverty and its associated pathologies?*** In some cases the correct category will be obvious, but in others careful judgment will be required. For example, it would seem that general donations to a college or a private school should not be used for exemption purposes, but donations to a college or school scholarship fund for poor students should be. General donations to a church should not produce an exemption, but those to the church's specific poverty-fighting endeavors (an anti-addiction program for example) should be. General donations to a hospital should not; donations to a free or reduced-rate clinic for the poor should.

Such categorization would be necessary, even though it could cut into the individual flexibility that straightforward tax reduction would allow. No matter how carefully state legislatures define the new tax category for poverty-fighting organizations, officials would have to write and apply regulations implementing the new tax. That authority potentially could allow a state agency to exclude organizations that it did not favor for ideological, theological, or political reasons. Some organizations might change what they do and the way they do it in order to conform to the regulatory standards.

Block grants violate common sense—far better to leave the money in the states in the first place.

Such a threat does not mean that the new system could not work. It does mean that eternal vigilance will continue to be the price of liberty.

Q: ***Why not rely on pure voluntarism to do what is necessary?*** The seeds of welfare replacement are already planted; if we wish to move quickly enough to save a generation of children during the first decade of the 21st century, those seeds need lots of water. If men were angels, no incentives for goodness would be necessary, but devolution to the states and further devolution

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through an exemption system is a good way for human beings to shift resources from the public sector to the private sector. Such a shift would provide a pool of capital for worthy charities to use in replicating themselves and thus replacing the welfare state.

The stimulation of voluntarism through tax exemption is an impure tactic, but our predecessors in this country, with their realistic view of human nature, were not above using impure motives to promote virtue. Colonial settlers who took in a poor person received compensation from the township, and some of them may occasionally have profited a bit (although that would be more than made up for by the time they spent mentoring the needy person). A farm family that adopted an orphan gained a farm hand, though the economic advantage was outweighed by the hard task of being new parents to someone who had grown up under tough conditions.

Q: ***Why require $3,000 to receive the exemption from payment of $2,500?*** If some people hesitate to give (in money or minimum-wage time) the greater amount necessary to receive an exemption, that is fine; the quality of their giving would probably be low. Some personal contribution by the taxpayer is important to build a sense of involvement with and responsibility for the work of the charitable organization. The goal is to have as many taxpayers as possible think through their giving, and not merely respond to direct-mail appeals.

Q: ***Why would taxpayers be expected to make better decisions on groups to support than government officials have?*** Competition has made the American economy the strongest in the history of humanity, and the American political system the envy of the world. The American people have proven themselves capable, on average and over the long haul, of making good economic and political judgments. Taxpayers who invested $500 of their own money and time in order to direct $2,500 to satisfying projects would be likely to make equally good judgments in the charitable sphere.

Decisions about where funds shall go would no longer be a function of political struggles over the budgets of government agencies, but would result from the decisions of millions of individual donors. Independent charitable organizations would for the first time in generations be on a level playing field with those groups favored by government. Some errors would occur, but there is every reason to expect this system of delivering assistance to the needy to be far more effective than the current model of top-down government monopoly.

Yes, some innovators would *fail, but isn't* it better to win a football game 50-14 than to play so defensively as to fall into a 3-3 tie? Given the growing number of damaged children and ruined adults under our current regime, isn't it better to take the rational risks that could liberate millions, rather than suffer constant winter without Christmas?

In general, decentralization offers the best shot for each state to innovate in the way that is right for its unique population and specific problems. Since we do not know precisely which legislative plan would best promote the offering of individual compassion, an emphasis on state-level action maximizes the opportunity to find out for sure which tactics work best. Furthermore, there may be greater opportunity to move quickly in some states than in Washington.

While each state would have to sort out its particular problems, all must face, for example, rising rates of illegitimacy. Abstinence programs are a start. When pregnancy nevertheless results and marriage does not, states should foster group-living arrangements for women while pregnant and during the year or two afterwards, so that those who would otherwise be alone will have a support network. States should challenge biases against adoption, and stress the advantages to the child of adoption at birth (or up to age two, at the latest). Having a baby out of wedlock should not bring with it the reward of any governmental cash payments.

We should phase out federal programs and push states to let individuals and community groups assume responsibility for fighting poverty.

No public-policy measure can take the place of the personal changes that are necessary to raise high the standard of American compassion. With supportive laws and rules compassionate individuals can make real progress toward reducing some of our most serious social pathologies, but the crucial change is still the one that goes on in each individual soul, not in the federal or state capitols.

Marvin Olasky *is a professor of journalism at the University of Texas at Austin and the author of* The Tragedy of American Compassion. *This article is excerpted from* Renewing American Compassion *by Marvin Olasky.* *©1996 by Marvin Olasky. Reprinted by permission of the Free Press, an imprint of Simon & Schuster, Inc.*

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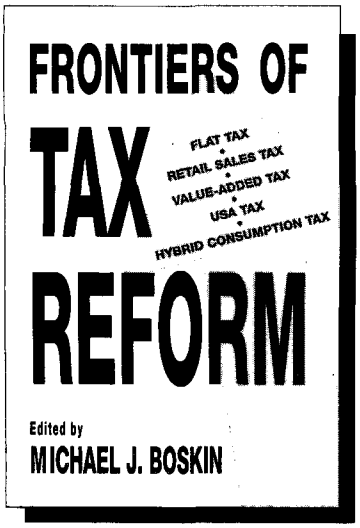

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FOREWORD BY WILLIAM J. BENNETT

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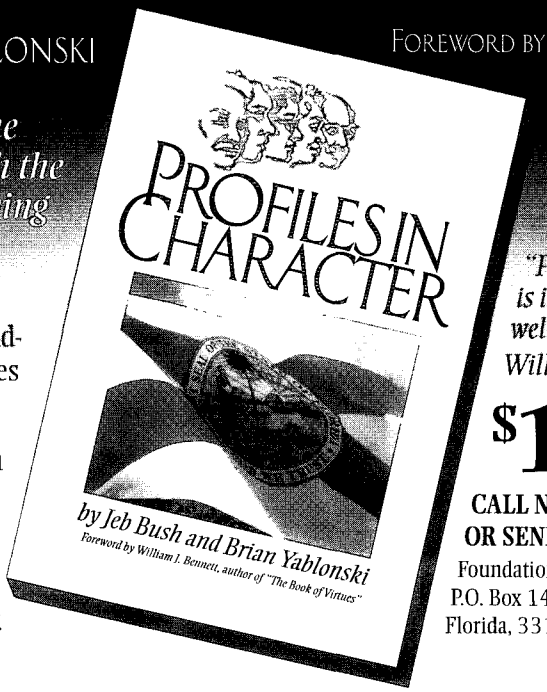

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Raising the Bar

By Nina H. Shokraii

In the great debate about affirmative action that is about to begin, opponents of racial quotas and preferences must be prepared to offer a better way of opening opportunity for racial groups that have historically been victims of discrimination. The answer is high academic standards for everyone, a solution that the Clinton administration is, unfortunately, resisting.

The greatest tragedy of public education today is the low expectations it sets for poor children, especially blacks and Hispanics. The prevailing assumption among teachers and principals in all too many poor neighborhoods seems to be: "These kids can't learn, and even if they do, society is so racist that there's no opportunity for them anyway."

Talk about a self-fulfilling prophecy. Why study hard if your teacher doesn't think you can learn? Racial quotas and preferences reinforce this defeatism by sending the message that blacks and Hispanics can succeed academically and eco-

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Minority Pupils Excel The Old-fashioned Way

nomically only if they are held to a lower standard than Asians and whites.

But the experience of countless schools and teachers shows that, when much is expected of them, black and Hispanic children can achieve at a very high level. Test scores for racial minorities can rise by quantum jumps without the ugly practice of "race-norming," where test scores for blacks and Hispanics are artificially raised to compensate for their racial status.

Consider the track record of Rafe Esquith, a fifth- and sixth-grade teacher at Hobart Elementary School in Los Angeles, near the site of the 1992 riots. Most children at Hobart are poor immigrants from families that don't speak English; 80 percent are Hispanic, 16 percent Asian, 2 percent African-American. Three-quarters have single parents, and many come from alcoholic families. But by the end of the sixth grade, his students have finished a year of algebra and classical literature—including eight of Shakespeare's plays. His junior thespian crew, the "Hobart Shakespeareans," have performed

Racial quotas reinforce defeatism. The best way to open opportunity for blacks and Hispanics is to set high academic standards for all.

with Britain's Royal Shakespeare Company. Their performance of *Measure for Measure* will open the World Shakespeare Congress in Los Angeles this June.

How does Esquith bring out the best in his class? The same way outstanding teachers always do. He sets high standards, and gives his students the help they need to meet them. "I put my heart and soul into my teaching, and the kids know that. I demand the same from them." Esquith begins teaching his class of 40 students at 6:30 a.m. and teaches straight until 5 p.m. (They even eat lunch in the classroom.) By teaching his youngsters to solve difficult math equations and to read and perform Shakespeare early on, Esquith trains his kids to take on challenges that at first seem impossible.

The result: Last year, in the mathematics portion of the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (a test administered to the Los Angeles Unified School District), his fifth-graders achieved average scores in the 98th percentile, while the school itself scored in the 64th percentile, and the district in the 47th percentile. On the English test, they scored in the 92nd percentile, while the school overall scored in the 47th percentile, and the district in the 35th percentile. His sixth-grade class produced similar results—even though all of Esquith's students speak English as a second language, and, but for his devotion, most would be written off as "slow" or "troubled."

Esquith's devotion to his students doesn't stop when they graduate from elementary school. On weekends he gathers his former students to prepare them for the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). The walls of his classrooms are filled with banners of colleges and universities like Harvard and Berkeley, institutions his students have gone on to attend; their names appear next to their respective schools. Most of these students are the first in their family ever to attend college.

Esquith's story is compelling, not only because his students do well, but because he proves that high expectations and hard work produce results. His students may be poor, but they will be able to compete in the marketplace on a level

Illustration by Gary Viscupic

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playing field because they are well educated, and Esquith—the recipient of the Walt Disney Outstanding Teacher of the Year award in 1992—can trump most private-school teachers any day. Esquith's secret—which seems to be well kept from most of the education establishment—is his conviction that poor, inner-city kids can learn, and that the keys to educational success are high standards and hard work.

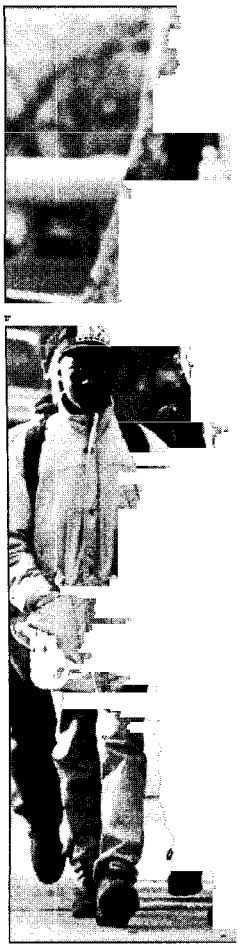
Another example of the "aim high and achieve" model is Holy Angels Elementary School, described as an "oasis in the middle of the desert" by Jolene Pearl, a professor of education at Spring Arbor College. Every year, Pearl takes her students to Holy Angels to show them that a successful school need not be housed in a safe, affluent white neighborhood. Nor does it take a fortune to keep its door open. The 108-year-old South Side Catholic institution sits in the Kenwood-Oakland neighborhood of Chicago, where three out of four people live in poverty and violent crime is the rule rather than the exception. Holy Angels's enrollment includes 1,256 students—all of whom are African-American—from preschool to eighth grade, each paying a tuition of $40 to $45 per month. The school's motto: "Where Proud Black Youngsters Produce and Achieve."

"I feel like I'm in a war zone," replies Sister Helen Struder, the school's principal, when asked how she feels about the location of her school. You'd never guess that from the students' performance. A comparison of scores on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills published by the Chicago Public Schools shows that, in 1994, the number of Holy Angels eighth-graders scoring above the national norm in math was quadruple the average number of eighth-graders at the three area public schools on the same test. The data also show that twice as many Holy Angels eighth-graders scored above the national norm in reading as did the average of the three area public school eighth graders.

How did this happen?

Sister Helen, who has been on the school's staff since 1960, before reaching her post as principal a year ago, believes that the secret to the school's success is threefold: its basic curriculum (mathematics, English, reading, science, and social studies), its strict discipline (it teaches respect for self and others and holds students responsible for their actions), and its high academic expectations for its students. Instead of making excuses for the children, Sister Helen and Holy Angels teachers expect them "to paddle their own canoes." Instead of offering an array of extracurricular classes or dumbing down its curriculum to increase the "self-esteem" of its African-American pupils, Holy Angels offers a strict diet of math and reading and expects students to get the job done. The principal believes that "by success you build self-esteem."

Rafe Esquith's inner-city fifth-graders score in the top 2 percent in math.



On a field trip in I

No one can attest to the success of a school like Holy Angels or a teacher like Rafe Esquith better than Barbara Lerner. A lawyer and psychologist, she was an outspoken advocate of the "minimum competence testing" movement in the late 1970s—a grass-roots movement demanding that no student be allowed to graduate from high school without first passing a test proving he or she had mastered basic skills in reading and math. Lawyers from the Center for Law and Education at Harvard and a bevy of other "experts" tried to convince the federal courts that this requirement was unconstitutional because in Florida—the first of many states to adopt such a test—80 to 90 percent of African-American students failed it on the first few tries. Lerner's 1983 testimony in *Debra P. v Turlington* (the case challenging Florida's minimum competence test) convinced the courts that minimum competence testing provided just the push these kids needed, pointing out that by the fifth attempt, more than 90 percent of them passed.

As Lerner noted in a 1991 article in *Commentary*, children who mastered the basics went on to improve their scores on more advanced tests like the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) too, because "[m]inimum competence is the entry ticket in the race for advanced competence and, as in any race, increasing the number of entrants increases the number who cross the finish line." That, she argued, is why the SAT scores of African-American students rose by more than 47 points between 1980 and 1989. Lerner believes that the only way to expand the success of the minimum competence exam is to make it the standard for grade-school graduation, and

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New York teacher Kay Toliver inspires her math students with real-world examples.

also to require children to pass an advanced competence test like the SAT to graduate from high school. Such a test would go beyond literacy and numeracy to measure abstract reasoning and problem-solving ability with both words and numbers.

Minimum competence tests have repeatedly been challenged in the courts by legal-services and civil-rights groups that contend, in Lerner's words, that the test "would hurt minority students the most, as a disproportionate number of them would fail the test and be denied high-school diplomas. That would stigmatize them for life, do severe damage to their self-esteem and motivation, and close off all further academic and career opportunities, locking them into a permanent underclass. The result would be a widening of the gap between the haves and the have-nots in American society, deepening our racial divisions and moving us away from equality and justice."

The Clinton administration makes a similar argument. In 1994, the U.S. Department of Education investigated Ohio's policy of requiring students to pass a ninth-grade proficiency test to see whether it violated the civil rights of minority students. Thanks to pressure from Republican congressman William Goodling, who depicted the Department of Education's involvement in Ohio as an "unwelcome intrusion into a state's education practices," the investigation was halted. But lawsuits and policies challenging advanced competency abound, and efforts to make earning a high-school diploma contingent upon passing a stringent exam bear a heavy political risk—mainly because, at first, many students are likely to fail the tests. Currently, according to a 1995 report by the North Central Regional Education Laboratory, 17 states require all their high school students to pass some form of graduation test. Michigan, New York, and Tennessee offer state-endorsed diplomas, and New York, Ohio, and Tennessee offer honors diplomas.

New York is one of the few states that has made huge strides in this area. Last year, thanks to Ramon Cortines, former chancellor of New York City's public schools, standards and accountability were reinstalled as the centerpiece of education in New York City. Cortines mandated Regents-level classes in mathematics and science for most incoming high-school students—to be phased in for sophomores, juniors, and seniors in the following three years. (Regents are college-level courses recommended by the state's education department and overseen by the Board of Regents. Students who take the achievement tests that correspond to the classes qualify for a Regents diploma.) Cortines's plan immediately eliminated many "bonehead" courses—as he characterized them—which typically had large minority enrollment.

According to a report by the Hudson Institute, *Education Reform 1994-1995*, the results of the first year reveal that the course-failure rates rose among African-Americans and Hispanics, but also that the number of minorities taking and passing the more rigorous courses increased greatly. The enrollment of African-Americans in college-preparatory science rose by 129 percent and Hispanic enrollments by 265 percent. Compared with the previous school year, more than 6,500 additional African-Americans and 7,000 Hispanics passed the Regents science courses.

Nearly 50 percent more Hispanics took the

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test in 1995 than in 1994, and 2,033 passed it (280 more than the year before). About a third more African-American students took the exam, and 2,532 passed it (184 more than the year before). Cortines's bold efforts received a boost last year when State Education Commissioner Richard P. Mills required that all New York City students not enrolled in Regents courses do so.

Regents courses put pressure not only on students, but also on teachers. Many of the complaints about Cortines's and Mills's efforts come from educators unfamiliar with teaching Regents-level courses. But as Kay Toliver, an award-winning math teacher from East Harlem Tech puts it, the pressure to perform pays off.

She should know. For 30 years, Toliver has been teaching elementary school and junior-high-school math at Public School 72/East Harlem Tech, a school for pre-kindergarten through eighth grade with 792 students, 88 percent of whom are Hispanic. She teaches pupils in grades four through eight in a program called the Challengers, designed for teaching mathematics in an integrated curriculum that emphasizes communications skills, history, and problem solving. She says she considers high expectations vital to success, "especially for students who are constantly being told they are 'disadvantaged' and who may have the impression that mathematics in particular is a subject beyond their abilities."

"Every student can succeed in mathematics, even if [he or she has] never before been successful," Toliver wrote in the *Journal of Negro Education*. "I let my students know two things from the beginning: (1) I am with them to teach, and (2) I expect to be met halfway." She's determined to eliminate the stigma attached to poor minority students as underachievers. "I believe [that] the greater the problems surrounding the students, the more important it is that they triumph in their education and thus receive the key to a better life." Last spring, her fifth-, sixth-, and seventh-graders averaged above the 50th percentile on New York City's annual standardized math test, while the school scored in the 30th percentile.)

The Clinton administration tried to stop Ohio's effort to raise minimum standards.

In 1993, an award-winning PBS documentary, *Good Morning Miss Toliver*, brought her efforts to a wider audience. Since then, she has given many teacher-training workshops, and the Foundation for Advancement in Science and Education, in Los Angeles, has underwritten two sets of teacher-training videos featuring Toliver.

No wonder a good portion of her students end up in such elite schools as the Manhattan Center for Science and Mathematics. Perhaps forcing students to take Regents-level courses will result in the creation of many more teachers like Kay Toliver. Yet until more states decide to follow New York's lead in devising and mandating courses and exams like the Regents, teachers like Toliver will need to take on the challenge by expecting more from their students.

Brother Bob Smith, the principal of Milwaukee's private Messmer High School, sets similar standards of excellence. "We won't allow students to perform poorly because they are poor, black, or from single-family homes and have often suffered years of neglect," he says. "Our kids are evaluated and reviewed in the middle and at the end of each quarter. Our kids see themselves as students, not as black and white or members of a group." Messmer has 320 students, of whom 65 percent are African-American, 10 percent are Hispanic, and 25 percent are white or of other ethnic background. And how does Brother Bob's "no-nonsense" recipe fare? Forty of his 52 juniors taking the PSAT last fall scored in the top 30th percent nationally, his African-American students hold the same grade-point average as the school's white students, 98 percent of his students graduate, and 80 percent move onto college. All this at a per-pupil cost less than half that of any of the public high schools in the Milwaukee school system.

Opponents of race-based affirmative action are constantly challenged to offer viable alternatives. Their answer often includes myriad empowerment ideas, such as school choice and vouchers, each of which has been carefully crafted to address specific aspects of the problems affirmative action has failed to solve. As the accomplishments of Rafe Esquith, Sister Helen Struder, Ramon Cortines, Kay Toliver, and Brother Bob Smith demonstrate, promoting high standards is an idea that will boost achievement in a way affirmative action never has and never will.

These educators refute the fears of the civil-rights establishment that high expectations will forever tarnish the spirit of minorities, and are proof that the best kind of "affirmative action" is that which will teach children the discipline they need to advance in the educational and professional arena.

Nina H. Shokraii *is the director of outreach programs at the Institute for Justice, a nonprofit, nonpartisan public-interest law firm in Washington, D.C.*

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Town Square

NEWS FROM THE CITIZENSHIP MOVEMENT

Groups to Watch

Private-Sector Conservation

For decades, liberals have assumed that only action by the federal government can protect the environment and have argued that conservatives care little about environmental issues. Last December, the **Competitive Enterprise Institute** launched its new **Center for Private Conservation** to set the record straight. The center aims to publicize private-sector efforts to conserve the environment. To this end, it will publish case studies of private conservation and analyze how legal and social institutions either assist or hinder private individuals and communities pursuing environmental agendas.

CEI Senior Environmental Scholar **Robert J. Smith** will supervise the project. In January, CPC reissued Smith's *Resolving the Tragedy of the Commons by Creating Private Property Rights in Wildlife* and published CEI research associate Michael De Alessi's *Emerging Technologies and the Private Stewardship of Marine Resources.* Smith and De Alessi, who oversees the day-to-day operations at CPC, argue that depletion of fisheries and other natural resources can be combatted by entrusting these resources to private ownership. CPC events and publications can be tracked in the CEI newsletter, *UpDate.*

☞ *Center for Private Conservation/CEI—tel: 202-331-1010, fax: 202-331-0640, e-mail: info@cei.org., Web site: http://www.cei.org.*

A Report Card on Schools

For years, education reformers have called for independent assessments of public schools to enable parents to hold educators accountable for poor performance. Colorado has become perhaps the first state to deliver. The **Parent Information Center** of the **Independence Institute** in Golden, Colorado, monitors 176 school districts and 2,000 schools throughout the state. On the basis of standardized test scores, graduation rates, attendance levels, and other indicators, the center formulates report cards that evaluate schools and school districts. Parents can also receive general info on education issues like the pros and cons of phonics-based language education.

☞ *Carolyn DeRaad, director, Parent Information Center, Independence Institute—tel.: 303-279-6536, fax: 303-279-4176, e-mail: 74157.632@compuserve. com.*

Innovations in Government

Boston's **Pioneer Institute for Public Policy Research** recently announced the nine winners of its fifth annual Better Government Competition, "Local Solutions to Public Problems." Among them: **William H. Mellor** and **John E. Kramer** of D.C.-based **Institute for Justice** offered model legislation to deregulate the Boston taxicab market; Houston constable **Victor Trevino** reduced the crime rate in his Houston precinct by 36 percent in three years by deploying 300 officer-volunteers (see *Policy Review*, Spring 1994); Indianapolis mayor **Stephen Goldsmith** has saved $18 million since 1992 by allowing city employees to bid for public contracts on an equal basis with private contractors.

The competition aims to elicit innovative solutions to public-policy problems. Since it began, think tanks in Arizona, California, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, Oregon, Canada, and Great Britain have imitated the program. The competition's theme for 1996: "Criminal Justice."

☞ *Linda Brown, Pioneer Institute—tel.: 617-723-2277, fax: 617-723-1880, e-mail: 75374.643@compuserve.com.*

Against the Odds

On March 13, 1996, the **National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise** (NCNE) will honor the winners of its fourth annual "Achievement Against the Odds" awards at a dinner in Washington, D.C. The awards, sponsored by the Allstate Foundation, recognize low-income Americans who have risen above adversity to improve their lives and their communities.

Before the dinner, NCNE will host a conference entitled "From the Bottom Up: How Grassroots Organizations Restore Civil Society." Speakers will include **Arianna Huffington** of the **Center for Effective Compassion**, **Stuart Butler** of **The Heritage Foundation**, and **Congressman Jim Kolbe**.

☞ *For more information, contact NCNE—tel: 202-331-1103, fax: 202-296-1541.*

Television Watchdog

Last November, **Shirley Jones** (TV's Mrs. Partridge) announced the launch of the **Parents' Television Council** and the release of the *1995-96 Family Guide to Prime Time Television.* Jones is the honorary cochairperson of PTC, a division of **Media Research Center**, in Alexandria, Virginia. *The 1995-96 Family Guide to Prime Time Television* assesses the suitability of prime-time television shows on all the broadcast networks for viewers of all ages. It does not evaluate programs for artistic merit.

Each review offers a summary of the show's themes and a traffic-light icon. A green light (e.g., *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*) stands for "family-friendly," a yellow light (*ER*) warns of adult themes, and shows given a prohibitive red light (*Beverly Hills, 90210*) are judged unsuitable for children. Programs that showcase loving families, affirm traditional values like hard work and honesty, treat religion seriously, promote sex in the context of a loving marriage only, and frown on obscenity and promiscuity are likely to be designated family-friendly.

☞ *Parents' Television Council—tel: 703-683-9733, fax: 703-683-9736. To order copies of the* Family Guide to Prime-Time Television, *call 1-800-243-BIAS.*

Entertainment Monitor

What kind of songs do Smashing Pumpkins sing? What does it mean when today's music artists want to "blaze up a stack"? For anyone lost in the maze of popular music's artists and language, *Entertainment Monitor* offers some guidance.

Entertainment Monitor, a monthly publication of California-based Entertainment Information Services, is nonpartisan, nonreligious, and does not make judgements about the music it describes. The mag recounts the

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story lines and themes of top-40 albums and translates the slang they contain.

The *Monitor* tells us, for example, that Tha Dogg Pound's album, *Dogg Food*, is a collection of 17 rap and "gangsta rap" songs; that in one track, "I Don't Like to Dream About Getting Paid," the artist talks about leaving a regular job to make more money and attract more women by selling drugs; and that to "blaze up a stack" means to smoke marijuana.

Each album review is coded for content: "S" for sex; "V" for violence; "D" for drugs; "L" for potentially offensive language; and "SL" for potentially offensive slang. Songs that contain many profanities and a great deal of slang are quoted at length. The magazine also covers movies and television programs.

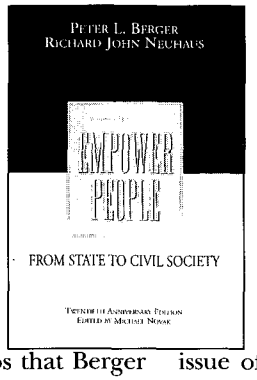
☛ Entertainment Monitor—*subscriptions available for $36 a year (discounts available); call 1-800-777-7016. A Web site with synopses may be available soon.*

Thoughts on Civil Society

How Far Have We Come?

In *To Empower People: From State to Civil Society*, published in 1977, **Peter L. Berger** and **Richard John Neuhaus** argued that "mediating institutions"—defined as "those institutions standing between the individual in his private life and the large institutions of public life"—could provide welfare services more effectively than big government. The **American Enterprise Institute** recently reissued this text, along with commentaries by 11 distinguished scholars and a response by Berger and Neuhaus.

The gulf between presidential rhetoric and administration policy is a primary theme here. "Every president from 1968 to the present," write **Michael S. Joyce** and **William A. Schambra**, has promised "to reinvigorate states, small communities, and civil society's intermediate associations." But even the Reagan administration, contends **James P. Pinkerton**, abandoned "the self-help ethos that Berger and Neuhaus had identified as the key to successful mediating institutions." One reason for this abandonment is that "the old paradigm of the welfare state continues to haunt the political discourse. . . . Intellectual habits die as slowly as other habits."



But even when big government tries to encourage mediating institutions, it often undermines them. **Marvin Olasky** recounts the sad transformation of **HOBO (Helping Our Brothers Out)**, a religious charity that was successful in helping the homeless until it accepted government funds. By forcing HOBO to abandon its ministry as a condition of the aid, the government robbed it of its effectiveness.

Does this mean that government should leave mediating institutions alone? **Michael J. Horowitz** believes so, but **Stuart Butler** and **Douglas Besharov** think that government has a more positive role to play, provided that "mediating structures are an outgrowth of the individuals who comprise discrete communities and should always be dependent on these individuals for their continued existence."

All the contributors endorse a devolution of power to society's "little platoons." **Michael Novak**: "If the 20th century unfolded under the sign of the state, pictured as a beneficent mother sheltering her children at her bosom, the 21st century is likelier to see a rebirth of the idea of freedom, in communities of men and women eager to practice self-government both in their private and their public lives."

☛ To Empower People: From State to Civil Society, *Michael Novak, ed. (AEI Press).*

Test of Faith

"There is no group more unfairly caricatured than today's religious conservatives," writes **Karl Zinsmeister**, the editor of the *American Enterprise*. Far from being an intolerant minority trying to force its values on the larger society, Zinsmeister argues that religious Americans have launched a "defensive offensive" against an aggressive secularism that has attempted—often successfully—to exclude traditional believers from the public arena.

To help set the record straight, Zinsmeister devotes an entire issue of his magazine to a group portrait of the religious right. **Doug Bandow** describes the "parallel universe" of educational institutions, publishing houses, news channels, philanthropic groups, and political organizations developed by religious Christians. **Fred Barnes** looks at the "Orthodox Alliance" of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish religious conservatives whose goals, he writes, "are cultural and political, not religious." **Dale Buss** examines the poor coverage religion gets from mainstream media, and **Michael McConnell** analyzes the movement for religious rights.

Religious conservatism is put into historical perspective by two distinguished scholars. Intellectual historian **Gertrude Himmelfarb** compares today's Christian men's movement, **Promise Keepers**, to the 18th-century "open-air meetings where the Wesley brothers preached and gained converts." **Robert W. Fogel** calls the current religious ferment the "fourth Great Awakening," and offers thumbnail sketches of the three earlier "cycles of religiosity" in American history.

In all, the issue profiles 40 Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and Muslim religious conservatives. What emerges from this "focus group in print" is that for most members of the religious right, devotion to God and "helping others" are two sides of the same coin.

☛ *"Who Are America's Religious Conservatives?"* American Enterprise, *Nov.-Dec. 1995.*

Religion and the Democrats

Politics absent religion and morals, argues **Joel Kotkin**, senior fellow with the Pepperdine University Institute for Public Policy, is nothing more than power mongering. Before secular liberalism, religion played an essential role in American politics. In Tocqueville's America, it trained citizens to use and not abuse freedom. In the mid-1800s and the mid-1900s, religion furnished civil-rights causes with their guiding principles and moral authority. Indeed, religion has been the fuel of progressivism in America. It would be today, Kotkin argues, if only we would let it.

The solutions to the problems of the inner city lie in its black churches. They do more to alleviate urban plight than the government ever has. Kotkin argues that liberals should build on their success, reconnecting reform efforts to religious principles and institutions. "Sensible policies to foster this change," he says, "would include regulatory reform in urban areas, tax incen-

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tives, larger write-offs for charitable giving, and the transfer of responsibility for the delivery of many social services from government to nonprofit, community, and church-based organizations."

☞ *"In God We Trust Again," by Joel Kotkin,* New Democrat, *Jan.-Feb. 1996.*

Where Virtue Grows

Democracy, argues **Mary Ann Glendon** in *Seedbeds of Virtue: Sources of Competence, Character and Citizenship in American Society,* requires "a higher degree of virtue in its citizens than any other form of government." But the critical problem of maintaining our democratic regime by fostering virtue has all too often been neglected by political theorists. The current volume, a collection of 13 scholarly essays, "aims to place that forgotten problem at the front and center of American public deliberation."

According to **James Q. Wilson**, "the West has irrevocably cast its lot with a culture that makes it easy, and seemingly natural, for the individual to triumph over the group." By contrast, "Islam and Confucianism are alike in elevating the collectivity over the individual," and believe that, in a century or two, "their way will be proved superior."

Wilson emphatically disagrees: "As costly as its embrace may be, freedom is man's universal hope; its defense, his steady preoccupation." But for freedom not to devolve into lawlessness, "all of us, but especially the intellectuals, [must] recognize that the exercise of freedom presupposes the maintenance of a natural moral order that deserves respect and reaffirmation, an order that arises from the familial seedbeds of virtue."

For **William A. Galston**, the defense of freedom requires political theorists to start taking words like "virtue" and "character" seriously again. Unfortunately, "For two generations scholarly inquiry has been dominated by the belief that the liberal polity does not require individual virtue."

By contrast, Galston believes that "to an extent difficult to measure but impossible to ignore, the viability of liberal society depends on its ability to engender a virtuous citizenry." And the institution charged by the liberal democratic order with "the formation of character, including public character," is the family. "It follows," says Galston, "that if families become less capable of performing that role, the well-being of the entire community is jeopardized.

But **David Popenoe** argues that the decline of families is related to the decline of neighborhoods and communities. "To help restore social virtue," Popenoe concludes, "we as a nation should seek to protect and cultivate natural communities, preferably along residential lines. As individuals, we should seek to stay married, stay accessible to our children, stay active in our local communities, and stay put."

To strengthen natural communities, **David Blankenhorn** urges the government to adopt "a strategy explicitly based on restoring the institutions of the civil society." The "centerpiece" of such a strategy should be strengthening the institution of marriage. And when public policy proposals are debated, the first question to be asked should be, "Will this policy strengthen or weaken

Why Government Shouldn't Fund Charities

1. Direct government funding of social welfare agencies (including mediating structures) is likely to create the wrong winners and losers.

The process is analogous to establishing an industrial policy: that is, government tries to pick the best service provider (instead of the best manufacturer, for example). Unfortunately, governmental decisions are less likely to be correct than are the cumulative decisions of thousands, or millions, of consumers. Worse, once government funding begins, political pressures make it almost impossible to end support. Thus, in his research on the differences between private and government support for start-up companies, Allan Meltzer found that private decision makers were more successful because they were more likely to abandon an obviously unsuccessful project than was the government. In other words, government is not capable of performing the key aspect of good decision making: creating losers. Many Head Start providers, for example, were chosen for reasons having little to do with their ability to care for children—and many others continue to be funded even though they are pale reflections of their former selves.

2. Direct government funding of social welfare agencies can alter the nature of their services and raise their costs.

When government chooses the service (or agency) for clients, it often imposes costly quality standards on the it. Since government tends to impose regulatory standards with less regard for whether they result in a better service than do individuals (who must pay for the service out of their own pockets), government-supported services tend to be more expensive than those that individuals purchase themselves. And government often decides that it knows how to provide the service better than the actual provider, so that it often requires even successful providers to alter their programs. No better example of this two-sided dynamic exists than the quality-cost differentials between publicly and privately-funded child care.

3. Direct government funding often requires mediating structures to abandon the very features, like religious activities, that make them effective.

Of course, the government, through its police power, always has the authority to regulate the activities of mediating structures even when not giving them money (subject to various but limited constitutional constraints such as the right to the free exercise of religion). But the temptation to attach requirements to the behavior of mediating structures—and the political support for doing so—is greatly increased when there is direct funding. After all, goes the argument, the money is public money and must be spent in accordance with the "public trust."

—Douglas Besharov, excerpted from "Bottom-up Funding" in To Empower People: From State to Civil Society, *just published by AEI Press. Besharov is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and a visiting professor at the University of Maryland School of Public Affairs.*

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the institutions of civil society?"

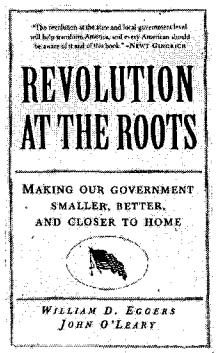
☛ Seedbeds of Virtue: Sources of Competence, Character and Citizenship in American Society, *Mary Ann Glendon and David Blankenhorn, eds. (Madison Books)*

What Works

Growth of the Grass Roots

In *Revolution at the Roots: Making Our Government Smaller, Better, and Closer to Home,* **William D. Eggers** and **John O'Leary** assert that today's political climate is truly revolutionary. "The overarching aim of the current bottom-up revolution is to reduce, rather than expand, the size and scope of government." This reduction will be achieved by devolving authority from the federal government to local government and by devolving responsibility from local government to individuals, families, churches, and voluntary associations—what Eggers and O'Leary describe as the "third pillar" or the "little platoons" of society.

The authors examine the devolution revolution as it applies to policing, welfare, economic development, and education. They discuss, for example, how one division of the **San Diego** police department has reduced crime by deploying 175 community volunteers—115 of whom are senior citizens—to collect evidence, take crime reports, and check on the homes of vacationing residents.



Wisconsin's "Work Not Welfare" program slashed welfare rolls 17 percent in the two counties it was implemented in 1994 by requiring welfare recipients to work while on welfare and terminating cash benefits after two years.

The **Salvation Army** shelter in Bell, California, moved 113 of its 165 boarders into jobs in 1993 by prohibiting sex, alcohol, and even provocative clothing.

Since **Mayor Stephen Goldsmith** eliminated nearly all of Indianapolis's taxicab regulations in May 1994, the number of taxicab companies has nearly doubled from 28 to 52 (all of which are minority or women-owned), fares have tumbled seven percent, and not one customer complaint has been registered with the city.

Finally, 25 percent of the students at the **Marcus Garvey School** in South Central Los Angeles are on public assistance, yet at a cost of $3,600, this private school has preschoolers memorizing the 50 states, second-graders reading from college textbooks, and sixth-graders beginning on calculus.

The authors conclude that devolution's success ultimately depends on America's citizens—the depositories of devolved authority and responsibility.

☛ Revolution at the Roots: Making Our Government Smaller, Better, and Closer to Home, *by William D. Eggers and John O'Leary (The Free Press).*

What Comes After

A book by the **Hudson Institute** profiles 16 programs "that shun the governmentalist mindset and instead take a civic-sector approach to homelessness, drug addiction, poverty, illiteracy, illegitimacy, crime and health care."

One Texas woman marshals dozens of volunteers, six refrigerators, four freezers, two stoves, and a $375,000 budget to deliver 20,000 sandwiches a month to needy Houston youth. **Friends for Life**, a Waco-based organization that employs just 4 people (but enlists 4,000 volunteers) provides 8,000 abandoned and ailing senior citizens with legal, personal, and emergency assistance.

The **Austin Street Shelter** provides the homeless of Dallas, Texas, 100,000 beds a year at a cost of $3.19 per person per night. The shelter treats the soul as well, encouraging visitors to participate in Bible study classes it offers and offering residents incentives to secure jobs.

Clean and Sober Streets, located in the heart of Washington, D.C., frees 80 percent of its residents of drug and alcohol addictions through a strict and regimented treatment program.

New York City-based **Student/Sponsor Partnership, Inc.**, enables 929 disadvantaged students to enroll in neighborhood Catholic schools by enlisting sponsor-mentors to foot the bill. In a city where the high school graduation rate does not break 40 percent, 76 percent of SSP participants graduate in four years and 90 percent go on to college.

Denver-based **Friends First** led a

Hometown Heroes

Citizen magazine, published monthly by Focus on the Family, Colorado Springs, Colorado, tries to encourage good citizenship by recognizing "Hometown Heroes" in a regular department. This section offers inspirational stories about average Americans who have promoted a pro-family agenda in their communities. Every January, the magazine chooses a "Hometown Hero of the Year." Focus on the Family is a nonprofit communications, counseling, and resource organization dedicated to the preservation of the home. Hometown heroes featured recently include:

Jean Todd of Pomona, California, organized a grassroots effort that prevented the establishment of a card-club casino in her community, despite being outspent 40:1 in an advertising battle with gambling interests.

Bob McLellan, a Buick dealer-turned-city councilman from El Cajon, California, and 1994's "Hometown Hero of the Year," successfully lobbied the state legislature to make it more difficult for children to purchase pornographic magazines from streetside vending machines.

Rev. Tony Marciano runs a spiritual recovery program out of his Central Union Mission, in Washington, D.C., that has reconnected more than 120 wayward fathers with their families.

Keith Streuber, the mayor of Hebron, Illinois, read a letter in the *Chicago Sun-Times* challenging pro-lifers to raise the unwanted children that restrictive abortion laws allegedly produce. He responded by placing an advertisement in the *Sun-Times* offering to take a pregnant mother into his home and to raise her child if she wanted to give it up.

For more information, contact Linda Ebert, Citizen *magazine, Focus on the Family, 8605 Explorer Drive, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80920.*

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revolt in Colorado education by instituting an abstinence-centered sex-education program at 35 schools last year.

Nearly all of these programs funnel 80 percent or more of privately funded budgets directly to their beneficiaries. "Instead of viewing government as the primary provider of services," write the authors, "we should first look to private sources: families, churches, charities, community development corporations, foundations, and businesses."

☞ Is There Life After Big Government? The Potential of Civil Society, *by Gregg Vanourek, Scott W. Hamilton & Chester E. Finn Jr. (Hudson Institute).*

Crime and Religion

Between 1985 and 1992, the murder rate increased 50 percent for white males and 300 percent for black males. By 2005, the number of males in this age group will have risen 25 percent overall and 50 percent for blacks. Since six percent of males in this age group commit 50 percent of the crime the group commits, we can expect that an additional 500,000 male 14 to 17-year-olds in the year 2000 will produce 30,000 more murderers, rapists, and muggers. And each generation of criminal youth seems more dangerous than the previous one. Today we fear Crips and Bloods and embrace memories of Sharks and Jets. What should we do about the coming wave of juvenile "super-predators"?

"My one big idea is . . . religion," writes **John J. DiIulio Jr.** Citing studies that demonstrate how religion immunizes youth against crime, DiIulio argues that public funds should be used to empower local religious institutions to act as safe-havens, provide adoption services, offer substance-abuse treatment, run day-care centers, and handle the youngest nonviolent offenders. And what about the reaction this policy prescription promises to elicit from ACLU-types? "Let them argue church-state issues all the way to the next funeral of an innocent kid caught in the crossfire," DiIulio writes.

☞ "The Coming of the Super-Predators," by John J. DiIulio Jr., *The Weekly Standard*, November 27, 1995.

Arguing with Success

Teen Challenge, a faith-based drug-treatment program with 130 chapters around the country, helps 70 to 86 percent of its participants free themselves of drugs and alcohol forever. But the state had tried to shut the group down because it would not hire state-licensed counselors or offer state-approved classroom courses. (State-approved treatment is 24 times costlier and has a success rate in the single digits).

In a later issue of *World*, the authors report that Governor **George W. Bush** intervened on Teen Challenge's behalf, postponing a shutdown until he introduced legislation to allow faith-based charities to seek certification from a nongovernmental agency. In November, Teen Challenge reached an agreement with the state: While the state revoked Teen Challenge's license, it also agreed to allow Teen Challenge to remain open as long as it adheres to its now state-approved program.

☞ *"The Empire Strikes Back: Can Christian Antidrug Programs Survive the Government Oversight Bureaucracy?" by Roy Maynard & Marvin Olasky,* World, *July 19, 1995.* World*—tel: 704-253-8063.*

Academic Value of Family Values

A child's academic performance is more greatly affected by his family than by any other variable, even school, writes **William R. Mattox** of the Family Research Council. Poor or rich, single-parent or two-parent, families of all stripes enhance academic performance by establishing daily family routines, monitoring out-of-school activities like TV viewing, setting high expectations, rewarding success, helping with homework, maintaining teacher contact, facilitating access to community resources like the public library, and stimulating reading and writing at home.

Mattox offers four prescriptions. First, "parental involvement" must mean more than participating in the local PTA; it means hands-on educating by parents. Second, parent engagement, not economic efficiency, is the greatest benefit to school choice. Third, Americans must look beyond our classroom-based and district-dictated education system; 21st-century schooling will take place in a more interactive setting where parents have a greater role in making education decisions. Finally, tuition tax credits are superior to vouchers because they are more fungible.

☞ *"The One-House Schoolroom: The Extraordinary Influence of Family Life on Student Learning," by William R. Mattox Jr.,* Family Policy, *September 1995. Family*

Recent Stories in Policy Review

January • February 1996

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Cautionary Tales

In Defense of the Flophouse

New York Times columnist **John Tierney** spent an evening among New York City's poor, huddled masses at the White House Hotel, a flophouse on New York City's famed Bowery. He was surprised by what he found: For $10, this "lodging house" provides a clean, safe, and warm place to stay. Tierney was also astonished that this very effective shelter for the homeless is being threatened by do-gooder liberalism.

Revolted by the idea that someone could make money from housing the homeless, New York politicians have passed legislation that prevents the formation of new flophouses and squeezes existing flophouses and single-room-occupancy hotels out of business through overregulation. Most recently, a court decision in a lawsuit initiated by legal services extended the city's rent regulations to lodging houses, making it more difficult for renters to expel dangerous and menacing residents.

The result: Flophouses, which provide residents better accommodations than city shelters at one-fifth the price, have become endangered. Meanwhile, the waiting list for public housing has 127,000 names.

☛ *"Save the Flophouse," by John Tierney,* N.Y. Times Magazine, *Jan. 14, 1996.*

Second Thoughts on Devolution

If you favor returning power and authority to state and local governments, **Clint Bolick** suggests you consider Alexandria, Virginia. The city of 116,000 is administered by 74 boards, commissions, committees, task forces, and authorities. Businesses that want to locate there must file upwards of 16 permits and pay as many as six different taxes. Excluding schools, Alexandria employs more people per capita than Los Angeles, Chicago, or San Diego.

And what about schools? Alexandria spends $10,000 per student on a system that employs as many people outside the classroom as it does inside and whose high-school students achieve mediocre test scores. Bolick concludes that "states and cities are just another form of big government." What's more, "they touch ordinary Americans in ways far more personal and meaningful than the national government." Bolick's answer: If you really want to be devolutionary, give power to individuals and the communities *they* construct.

☛ *"Leviathan in the Suburbs," by Clint Bolick,* Weekly Standard, *Nov. 27, 1995.*

Should Charities Live Forever?

You manage a struggling nonprofit. Suddenly the nonprofit genie appears before you. With your first wish you ask for a big, fat endowment—right? Writing in *Philanthropy,* **James L. Payne** counsels against it. Endowments are inefficient and debilitating. They enable some nonprofits to outlive the demand for their services, and more importantly, they remove the incentive nonprofits have to remain frugal and innovative. Payne's premise is that the small, independent, and usually struggling charities conservatives herald are successful precisely because they are "underfunded."

☛ *"Should Charities Live Forever?" by James L. Payne,* Philanthropy, *Fall 1995. The Philanthropy Roundtable—tel: 317-639-6546, fax: 317-236-7370.*

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Rediscovering Religion

Religion, it seems, has suddenly seized a prominent position in debates over values, culture, and public policy. In response, FitzGerald Senior Fellow Patrick Fagan examined recent social-science literature on the benefits of religious belief and observance. He recently published his findings in a Heritage paper, "Why Religion Matters: The Impact of Religious Practice on Social Stability."

Among the apparent benefits of religious observance on society: Both strong marriages and strong families are closely linked to regular church attendance; regular churchgoers in the inner city tend to move out of poverty; moral judgment is massively strengthened; and regular practice of religion tends to immunize people against suicide, drug abuse, out-of-wedlock births, crime, divorce, and other problems. Religious belief reduces the incidence of depression, raises self-esteem, and helps repair the social and psychological damage caused by drug addiction and marital breakdown. It appears even to be associated with longevity, reduced cardiovascular diseases, and faster recovery from injuries. Fagan quotes psychologist Allen Bergin: "Some religious influences have a modest impact, whereas another portion seems like the mental equivalent of nuclear energy." *(Backgrounder No. 1064)*

Baltimore II

In a follow-up to their December 1994 orientation session in Baltimore for 65 congressional freshmen, The Heritage Foundation and Empower America sponsored the "1996 Congressional Advance," a one-day conference for freshman and sophomore members of the 104th Congress.

The second Baltimore conference took place January 25-26, 1996, and explored issues vital to the second legislative session of the 104th Congress. Featured speakers included Heritage Fellow William Bennett; Robert Woodson, the president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise; and Al Dunlap, the former CEO of Scott Paper Co.

Corporate Social Responsibility

John Hood, a 1994-95 Bradley Fellow at Heritage and a regular contributor to the "Blessings of Liberty" column in *Policy Review: The Journal of American Citizenship*, has written the conservative answer to the corporate social responsibility movement. In his book *The Heroic Enterprise: Business and the Common Good*, to be published in June by the Free Press, Hood tracks the successes of business in such areas of social concern as environmental protection, workplace and product safety, family values, education reform, and the revitalization of inner cities. Hood shows that companies make a greater contribution to society through innovation in goods and services than through their philanthropy. Hood is now the president of the John Locke Foundation in Raleigh, North Carolina.

John Hood, former Heritage Bradley Fellow

Welfare and Medicare

In a recent backgrounder, "Why Congress Must Reform Welfare," Robert Rector, a senior policy analyst at Heritage, shows:

- The 4.7 million families currently receiving AFDC have already spent, on average, six and a half years on welfare;
- When past and estimated future AFDC benefits are combined, the average length of stay on AFDC among those families currently receiving benefits is 13 years;
- Among the families currently receiving AFDC, more than 90 percent will spend more than two years on the AFDC rolls.

Rector also discusses recent research by June O'Neill, the director of the Congressional Budget Office, showing that spending long periods of time on welfare may reduce a child's IQ by as much as 20 percent. Rector writes that the more welfare income a family receives during a boy's childhood, the lower the boy's earnings as an adult, even when compared to boys in families with identical nonwelfare income. *(Backgrounder No. 1063)*

In "Reforming Medicare: What Congress Can Learn from the Health Plans of America's Corporations," Brenda Fitzgerald profiles the innovative ways that private corporations have cut costs in employee medical coverage while improving the quality of care. Fitzgerald, a clinical professor at Emory University, describes several successful private-sector health-care innovations and concludes that markets provide the best service at the best price, if they are characterized by choice, information, and competition. *(Backgrounder No. 1059)*

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Photo by Chas. Geer

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Church Without State

When Alexis de Tocqueville arrived in the United States in 1831, he was struck by how Americans were "forever forming associations." Instead of looking to the government for help, public-spirited citizens sought to solve societal problems on their own. Tocqueville may not have realized that this national enthusiasm for "associations" was largely of recent vintage. Although Americans had always been industrious, the explosive growth in civic associations did not occur until the second decade of the 19th century.

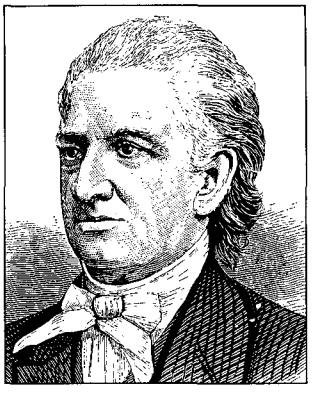
Perhaps no one deserves more credit for creating this culture of volunteerism than Lyman Beecher (1775-1863). Remembered today chiefly as the father of author Harriet Beecher Stowe and abolitionist preacher Henry Ward Beecher, the elder Beecher was a powerful minister and reformer in his own right. As one of his colleagues commented, "In massive talent, Lyman Beecher stood among his brethren like Daniel Webster in the Senate—alone."

As a young clergyman in the early 1800s, Beecher confronted a society in crisis. Church attendance was dropping, and alcoholism and other social ills were on the rise. The elite classes were abandoning orthodox Christianity for a demythologized religion of human reason. Elected officials were increasingly reluctant to enforce morality or piety by law, and there was growing support in the political sphere for abolishing tax subsidies for churches, which had long been the bulwark of Protestantism in New England.

by John G. West Jr.

John West is a senior fellow at the Seattle-based Discovery Institute. His book The Politics of Revelation and Reason: Religion and Civic Life in the New Nation *will be published in May by the University Press of Kansas.*

Beecher viewed these developments with alarm. Like most ministers of the era, he believed that republican government could not survive without a virtuous citizenry, and that a virtuous citizenry depended on religion. In the absence of established churches and direct state support for religion, he feared the worst. But instead of despairing, he responded brilliantly: If the government would no longer support religion directly, the religious adherents themselves had to do whatever the government could not.



Rev. Lyman Beecher

Government used to promote civic virtue by compelling people to "support the gospel and attend the public worship of God," Beecher told the Connecticut legislature in 1826. "But these means of moral influence the law can no longer apply; and there is no substitute but the voluntary energies of the nation itself, in associations for charitable contributions and efforts, patronized by all denominations of Christians, and by all classes of the community who love their country."

Beecher advocated replacing government support for religion and morality with a network of voluntary societies that would spread the gospel, inculcate moral habits in the young, and reclaim the dissolute. In those cases where government action might still be necessary, the associations would seek to create a political consensus through educational efforts. In a free society, Beecher realized, persuasion had to precede coercion.

During his career, Beecher held four pastorates—in Long Island, New York; Litchfield, Connecticut; Boston; and Cincinnati—and traveled the Northeast and West speaking not only in churches but also at revival and reform meetings. His widely circulated sermons and tracts helped inspire evangelicals to organize scores of voluntary associations for evangelism, missions, and social and political reform. They formed groups to help alleviate poverty, teach reading and writing to the poor, and prevent alcohol abuse. Beecher himself took part in many of these efforts, such as the American Temperance Society and a group that promoted the voluntary observance of the Sabbath. The many private associations of the era transformed American society in a way that few government programs could.

"They say ministers have lost their influence," Beecher wrote years later. "The fact is, they have gained. By voluntary efforts, societies, missions, and revivals, they exert a deeper influence than ever they could" have with state support. He had learned through experience that the free-enterprise system in religion, far from being hostile to faith, created the conditions for true piety and civic virtue to flourish. Beecher was not the first to discover this truth, of course. Baptists and Methodists in America had long advocated the separation of church and state as beneficial to true religion. But at the time, they tended to view religion as a private matter without a clearly defined social role. Beecher's unique contribution was to show how religious groups could play a dynamic public role once direct state support of churches had ended.

Even as Beecher championed Christianity's civic role, however, he keenly appreciated the limits of religious activism and recognized the dangers that politicking posed for Christianity. The political ambitions of some activists could easily overwhelm the message of the gospel and provoke public censure. Beecher advised Christians to confine their political efforts to the "great questions of national morality" and avoid formulating an explicitly Christian position on every political issue.

During our own era, when questions are again being raised about the proper role of faith in the public square, we all might learn from Beecher's free-enterprise and common-sense approach to religion in public life.

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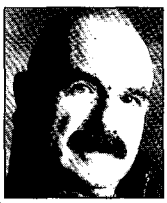

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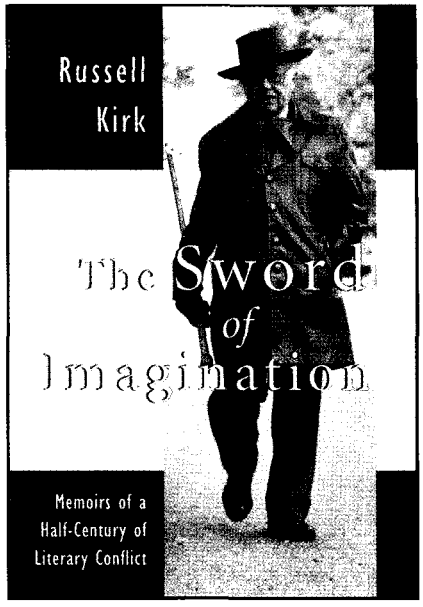

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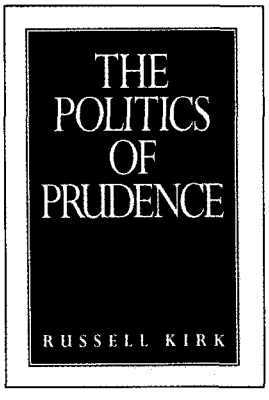

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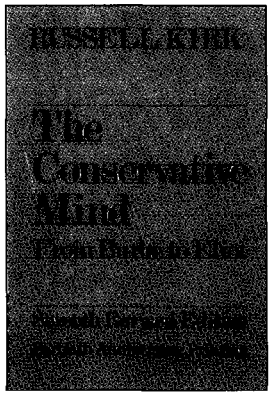

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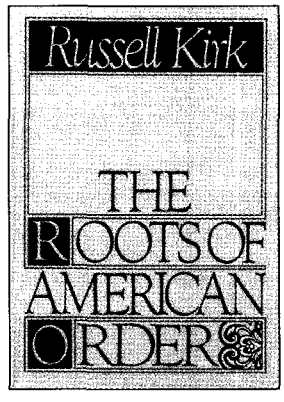

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